

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Extra No.—1892.

*The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.*—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, *Bombay Army (Retired.)*.

(With six Plates.)

*Continued from Page 297 of No. IV, 1892.*

In the record of the Survey, completed about a century since, the following account is given of the different rivers noticed by Abú-l-Fazl above. It matters little, in regard to the present subject, what course this and the other rivers took within the hills, as there changes in their courses seldom take place; therefore, I shall confine myself chiefly to an account of them after their entry into the more level tracts.

THE SINDHU, NAHR-I-SIND, AB-I-SIND, OR INDUS.

I need not mention in the present paper what the author of the Survey says respecting the upper course of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and its source, and shall only notice it here from its junction with the river of Kábul just above Aṭak Banáras.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>239</sup> It may not be amiss to mention here what the old European travellers say respecting the Indus and the changes in its channel, as well as of the rivers constituting the Panj Ab, or Panch Nad. What they mention about the places on their banks will be found farther on.

Sir T. Herbert, writing in 1626, says: "The River Indus, called by Pliny Sandus, and Arrian Sinthus, is now called Sinde. After a course of 3,000 miles from

“One *kuroh* above that place,” he says, “the Sind unites with the River of Kábul, called Landaeý Sind, or Little Sind or River, by the Afgháns. The Sind contains a whitish deposit, and looks milky in consequence; while the other, from its great clearness and purity, is very blue, and therefore the Tájzík people of these parts call it the Níl Áb, or Blue River, or Blue Water. At different points it is called the Aṭak and Níl Áb indiscriminately. \* \* \* Near Uḥchh<sup>290</sup> it unites with the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad, or Five Rivers; and towards the *bandar* (port) of Láhrí it unites with the ocean.”

the Casnirrian [Kash-mírián] Mountains, part of Caucasus, it empties itself into the Ocean at two great Ostiums. \* \* \* The Rivers Bohat [Bihat], Ravore [Ráwí], Damiadee [See the old map, p. 297], Obchan, Woihy or Hydaspes, Ascines, Cophis, Adris, etc., all fall into it.” See pages 207, and 229, and note 175.

Mandelsloe, who was in India in 1639, says: “The Persians and Indosthans themselves, having given the name of *Pangah* [Panj-Áb], *i. e.*, Five Waters, to the River Indus, because it is joyn’d with so many Rivers before it exonerates itself into the Sea. The first is the River Bugal, or Begal [in other places he has Nibal—the Níl-áb], whose source is near Kabul; the second is call Chanab, which rises in the Province Quesmir, or Cossimer, fifteen days’ journey to the North, above Lahor. The third is that of Ravy, or Ravee, which rises not far from Lahor, and runs by it. The two others, *viz.*, the Rivers Via [Bíáh] and Osuid [Hakrá?] have their sources at a vast distance, *their confluence being near Bakar* [this is an important statement], which lies at an equal distance between Lahor and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this river with that of *Diul* [Debal], and placed it 24 degrees on this side the Line. \* \* \* The Province of Tatta is a congeries of many Islands made by the same River. \* \* \* The Province of Attack is seated upon the River Nibal (which falls into the Indus) and is by it divided from the Province of Haca Chan, or Hanji Chan [the Dera’h-ját of the present day]. \* \* \* The city of Lahor is seated on the River Ravy, one of those that with four more joins its Waters with the Indus.” The Jihlam he does not mention.

Thevenot, who was in India in 1666, says: “The Moguls have given that Province [Lahor] the name of Pangeab, which signifies the five Rivers, because five run in the territory of it. These Rivers have received so many particular names from the Moderns that have spoken of them, that at present it is hard to distinguish them one from another; nay, and most part of these names are confounded, though Pliny distinguished them by the names of Acelines, Cophis, Hydarphes, Zaradras, and Hispalis. Some Moderns call them Behat, Canab [Qhin-áb], Find [Sind], Ravy, Van [Bíáh]; and others give them other Appellations, which are not the names of [*i. e.*, in use in] the Country, or at least, which are not given them, but in some places of it they run through. However, all these Rivers have their Sources in the Mountains of the North, and make up the Indus, that for a long way, goes by the name of Sinde, into which they fall; and that’s the reason why this River is sometimes called Indy, and sometimes Sindy.”

<sup>290</sup> See page 296. Abú-l-Fazl also says “near Uḥchh.” He likewise says that the rivers of the Panj-áb are six, and include the Ab-i-Sind, which is not correct.



The Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which we call Indus, has, in the lapse of ages, changed its course very considerably, though not so much perhaps, considering its size, as some of the other rivers presently to be noticed.

Traces of ancient channels are met with every here and there, especially to the immediate westward of Multán, between that place and the present channel of the river, and south of it again, between it and Uchchh, the intervening tracts of country being literally seamed with old channels. The whole of the southern part of the present Muzaffar Garh district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, below that part of the *Thal* or elevated alluvial waste,<sup>291</sup> running down through the southern part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah from north to south, and which terminates a little to the north-west of the town of Muzaffar Garh, in about 30° 10' N. Lat., is low and depressed, and consists entirely of stretches of alluvial soil running parallel to the banks of the two rivers, Sind and Chin-áb. This extensive tract is seamed with channels, showing, beyond a doubt, that nearly the whole of what now constitutes this district was a river bed.

Respecting this *Thal*, it is necessary to state that, like the district, it is somewhat in the shape of a triangle, the base on the north being about thirty-five miles in breadth, and the sides about fifty; that it is highest on the west, and that it slopes downwards from the banks of the Indus towards the Chin-áb, from west to east. The western part of it consists of sandy soil, with sand-hills here and there, which latter increase in number and in elevation as you move eastwards, and run north and south in detached ridges or waves, between which, narrow flats of stiff clayey soil occur, which the people bring under cultivation, and which yield good crops, and finally terminate in the hollow, or valley, in which the Chin-áb flows.

It must not be supposed, however, that because these ridges of sand-hills increase in height from west to east, that the bed of the Chin-áb lies highest, for the contrary is the fact. There is a regular slope from the Indus towards the Chin-áb; while the southern part of the district, from a little above Shahr-i-Sultán,<sup>292</sup> is so depressed that the waters of the Chin-áb and Indus find their way during the inundations into the very middle of the delta. This difference in the beds

<sup>291</sup> Also known, in history, as the *Chúl-i-Jalálí*. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁN-ISTÁN," etc., page 338.

<sup>292</sup> In the hot season of 1754, the Shahr-i-Sultán was swept away by the river, together with the shrine of one of the Bukhárí Sayyids of the Uchchh family, named Pír-i-'Alam. They were subsequently re-built about two miles from the previous site.

of these rivers was noticed by Wood, in his "Report on the Indus."<sup>293</sup> He says: "The depth of the bed of the Chin-áb is lower than the Indus; for they cut canals from the Indus in July, when both are in flood, and the surplus water flows down into the Chin-áb, proving that although their beds, for a distance of sixty miles, are not more than ten miles asunder [they are fourteen *now*, at the narrowest part], yet, in their relative level, there is a considerable difference."

Since the Survey, the record of which I have been quoting from, was made, towards the end of the last century, the main stream of the Indus has been pushing westwards considerably, notwithstanding the fact of the land sloping eastwards. At present there is a strip of *kachchhi* land, some ten miles in breadth, between the *Thal* and that river, which fifty years since did not exist.

Four miles south of the ancient town of 'Alí-púr,<sup>294</sup> as far as the

<sup>293</sup> "Journal:" Vol. for 1841, page 557. About the parallel of Koṭ Addhú, in the extreme north-west part of this district, the bed of the Indus is about forty feet or more higher than that of the Chin-áb.

If we draw a line from Multán by Basírah west to the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then southwards to Ghaus-púr—close to which the *Ab-i-Sind* flowed when it was a tributary to the *Hakrá*, and went to form the *Mihrán of Sind*—a distance of 107 miles from the former and 86 from the latter, we shall find what a vast depression exists hereabouts, which accounts for alterations in the junctions of the different rivers so often and so easily. By this depression from Ghaus-púr water still reaches the old channels of the *Hakrá*. Thus, Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basírah, 410, and the Derah of Ghází Khán, 440. Then again, Baháwal-púr is 375, 'Alí-púr, 337, Islám-púr, 368. Ghaus-púr is but 209, and is the lowest point in the neighbourhood; while about ten miles east and west, the height increases to 301 and 295 feet respectively, and about the same distance south, to 296 and 288. The height of the country generally is greatest along the west bank of the Indus as it now flows, down as far as a little north of Kin or Kin Koṭ, where the height above the sea on both sides is 305 and 304 feet. Below this point, at Kin, it falls to 270 feet, and then declines again 245 at *Kashmúr*, between which places the country slopes away lower towards the depression, locally called the "Sind Hollow," referred to farther on; while the country on the east bank is a little higher than that on the opposite side down to near Aror, near which, to the south-eastwards, is the low tract of land in which the waters from near Ghaus-púr find their way into the old *Hakrá* channels, and which waters form the so-called "Eastern Narra."

<sup>294</sup> To judge from the height of this place above the surrounding country, it must be an ancient site, and at one time stood near the confluence of the Chin-áb and its tributaries with the *Sindhu*, *Ab-i-Sind*, or *Indus*. The present town is supposed to have been founded by one of the chiefs of the *Nághar* tribe, mis-called *Náhars*, named 'Alí Khán. Much information respecting this tribe is contained in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. 'Alí-púr lies twenty-five miles north of Uchchh, thirteen south-westwards of Jalál-púr in the Multán district, and a little over seven miles west of the present point of junction of the Ghárah with the Chin-áb and its tributaries forming the present Panch Nad, or Panj Ab.



present junction of the two rivers thirty miles farther south, the whole space between is subject to inundation, that from the Indus extending farthest. When the two rivers rise, they begin to draw near each other, but, at last, the Indus water manages to force its way across towards Jaṭú-í,<sup>295</sup> and reaches its old channel of the last century, passing by 'Alí-púr, and meeting the Chin-áb near the village of Pakkah Ná'í<sup>chh</sup>, four miles and a quarter farther southwards. This state of things continues from June to September, during which period, all the district to the southwards of those places and beyond, is under water, and the only means of communication is by boats. During this time the inhabitants, washed out of their dwellings, live on small platforms raised on poles, with one or more of which each homestead is provided, called *machán* in Hindí, and also *manchán*, both words being from Sanskrit मंच, and are often not able to leave them for weeks together.

At this time, however, the modern town of Khair-púr, a little over five miles west of Pakkah Ná'í<sup>chh</sup>, just midway between the two cold season channels of the rivers, and which is protected all round by a strong *band* or embankment, becomes an island and a port; for cargoes of grain and other commodities are sent off from thence in large boats down to Sind. Should this *band* give way at any time the place would probably be washed away.<sup>296</sup>

There is no doubt but that the Indus, in former times, flowed through the middle of the present Muzaffar Garh district, in a direction almost due north and south, but inclining a little eastwards towards Multán and U'ch<sup>chh</sup>; and history confirms the tradition respecting it, as I shall presently show. The tradition extant among the people is, that the river once flowed through the middle of this *Thal*, but rather nearer towards the Multán side,<sup>297</sup> after which it began to alter its

<sup>295</sup> This was the chief place of the *maḥáll* of Jaṭú-í, one of the twelve constituting the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and was so called after a Balúch tribe of that name, once very powerful. In the time of Akbar Bádsháh they paid revenue to the amount of 2,346,873 *dáms*; held free grants to the amount of 156,841 *dáms*; and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 800 foot as militia when called upon. In computing the amount of revenue, forty *dáms* were equivalent to a *rúpi*.

<sup>296</sup> The sand hills of the *Thal*, and several *bands* or embankments, alone prevent the surplus waters from the Indus sweeping over the whole district, and hence there is a constant danger of such happening, should any of the *bands* give way.

<sup>297</sup> Elliot ("Historians," Vol. II, page 28), in his extracts from the *Tárikh-i-Yamíní*, where Sultán Maḥmúd is said to cross the Indus [*Sihún* in the original, but often applied to a great river] "in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and march towards the city of Bhátia," he adds in a foot-note—"Literally, 'behind' or 'beyond'—[and Ibn Aṣír uses the same expression], but the position of Múltán is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful." Here the meaning is made quite clear: the river did not flow then as now, as Elliot supposed. See note 349, page 347.



course more to the west; and that the sand hills were produced by the action of wind, blowing the deposits left by the river in its deserted bed into heaps, and into their present shapes. The proof of the correctness of this tradition, which is corroborated by the old 'Arab writers, lies partly in the fact, that, in the middle part of this *Thal*, and farther towards the east, are villages, still existing, with the addition of the words '*kachchh*,' '*belah*,' and '*bet*' to their names, and that it is literally seamed with the old channels in which the *Ab-i-Sind* or Indus once flowed. As an example of this, I may mention a village called Basírah, west of the town of Muzáffar Garh, and now in the middle of this *Thal*, just midway between the Indus and *Chin-áb* as they now flow, and about thirteen miles from each. That village stood on the banks of the Indus in the last century;<sup>298</sup> for, in a deed of sale of this particular village at that period, it is designated *Bet Basírah*. The Revenue Settlement Records, no doubt, would furnish many more proofs. At *Sháh Garh*, likewise, which lies but six miles and a half farther south of it, and about the southern and terminating point of the *Thal*, a long *kol-i-áb*, *dhand*, or lake, still exists, part of the channel in which the river then flowed.

In former times, as elsewhere mentioned, it united with the rivers of the Panj-áb territory opposite *Uchchh*, which now is forty miles above the confluence near *Mit-hí dá Kot*; and what now constitutes the '*Alípúr*' sub-division of the Muzáffar Garh district, then lay on the *west*, instead of the *east* bank of the Indus; and *Jaú-í*, *Sít-púr*,<sup>299</sup> and *Ghaus-púr*

<sup>298</sup> For other information respecting these parts on either side of the *Ab-i-Sind* or Indus, as it flowed in the last century, see my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 656-660, and 673-676.

<sup>299</sup> The present town is situated on an eminence, the remains of older buildings. Here also stands a fine tomb of one of the *Nághar* chiefs, called *Náhars* by the *Sindís*. The dome is covered with the usual glazed blue tiles of this part.

The country round about towards the junction of the rivers is covered with low tamarisk *jangal*, and tall, coarse reeds.

One of the "Punjab Gazetteers," in an account of these parts, presents us with some wonderful history—Gazetteer history it may be styled. Therein it is mentioned, that it was in the time of the Langah dynasty that *the independent kingdom* [*sic*.—much like the kingdom of "the mighty Cháker Rind"] of the *Náhars* was established in what is now the '*Alípúr*' Tahsil [they must have been content with a small "kingdom"]. It was during *this dynasty* that the Biloches first emerged from the Suliman Mountains [in which they were not located, and from which they did not come at that period, but from *Kich* and *Mukrán*], and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus." It also states, that, "of the twenty-six generations of the *Náhar* princes, the last is Bakhshan Khán, Jamadár of the '*Alípúr*' Tahsil." Here he would probably get pay at the rate of twelve or fifteen rúpís per month—*Sic transit gloria Náharán!* See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 4 and 648.



in the Baháwul-púr territory, were all three places on the *west* bank of the river. The Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam and Ráwí, flowed some miles farther east, the junction being then a few miles east of Shahr-i-Sultán.<sup>300</sup> Just at the close of the last century, the Indus suddenly forsook its channel about twenty miles above Uchchh, and took a direction more to the south-south-west towards Mit-hí dá Kot, thus placing 'Alí-púr, Jaṭú-í, and Síṭ-púr in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in which Uchchh was once situated.<sup>301</sup> The Janún Canal (the "Jamoo Canal" of the maps) now runs in this deserted channel, and unites with the Panj Áb or Panch Nad below Makhan Belah.

Another *puránah*, *buḍḍh*, or old channel, of which there are several others in different parts of the district, called the *ḍhand* of Sháh Garh, can be traced a short distance from the present Kureshí Patan or Ferry. It takes a tortuous course among the sand ridges of the *Thal*, and

The same "authority" states, that "Sitpur was first called Kanjan Mal, then Khúdi Bhír—the hunting seat of Rája Khúdi," only *ber* - بیر - signifies an enclosure—the hunting seat, so called—not *bhír*. There is no mention whatever of Rattá-Mattá, which famous place is situated only four miles and a half from Jaṭú-í. See a subsequent page and note on this subject farther on.

<sup>300</sup> See note 292, page 299.

<sup>301</sup> The cause of this change, according to native statements, and which are probably correct in the main, is, that from near Kinjhír, the point where the Indus formerly turned eastwards to unite with the Chin-áb, one of the modern Náhar chiefs of Síṭ-púr, excavated a canal to irrigate some land farther west in the direction of the present course of the river. All at once (at the commencement of the inundation it may be presumed), it suddenly left its old channel and took to the canal, and very soon made a new channel for itself; and in it, with occasional minor changes, it has since flowed, thus showing how easily great changes can be brought about in such a sandy, alluvial tract, and that the feat of Saif-ul-Mulúk near Aror, according to the tradition elsewhere related, and which is said to have caused such mighty changes in Sind, was not so difficult to effect after all.

It will be noticed, that it was at this same period, when the Áb-i-Sind or Indus thus suddenly changed its course, and taking to the abovementioned canal speedily cut a new channel for itself, that the Bính and Sutlaj likewise changed their courses, and united into one river, and that the Chin-áb and Ráwí, instead of uniting as before, a short distance west of Sidhú kí Sará'e, turned some ten miles farther towards the south-west. All this shows that the same causes produced the same effects—all the rivers were more or less affected. This is said to have happened about the year 1202 H. (1787-88, A. D.).

The place where the Áb-i-Sind or Indus changed its course farther to the west, as noticed above, was near Kinjhír (the "Keenjur" of the maps) on the west, which place lies about twelve miles west of Khán Garh in the Muẓaffar Garh district.

After the Áb-i-Sind or Indus made this sudden change, the Nawwáb of Baháwal-púr, who considered that river his boundary on the west, wherever it might be, annexed the whole of the intervening tract between the old channel and the new to his territory, and managed to hold it up to about the year 1820.



terminates near the old *garh* or fort of Sháh Garh, north-west of Muzaffar Garh. Another is the Panjihár dhand, which can be traced from a little west of Kinhír to near the village of Rohilán-Wáli, and from thence for about twelve miles farther to the southwards of Khán Garh. Hereabouts the land lies so low that water finds its way into the middle of this part of the delta, where quite a network of *dhand*s exist, which for the most part tail on to this one.

Without being aware, apparently, of these facts, it is in the tract I have been thus describing, that the “archæological experts” venture to *identify* places as “the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines [Chin-áb] with the Indus,” after the lapse of some twenty-three centuries, when such mighty changes occur in less than one!<sup>302</sup>

In the same manner as in the tracts north and west of Uchchh, just described, and between it and Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, called by us Miṭhan Koṭ, below those places again, other ancient channels exist, but not of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus only; and it is beyond a doubt, that it and other tributaries of the Mihrán of Sind, have, at different times, flowed over great part of the alluvial plain of Sind between Uchchh and Aror, and farther south, but much nearer towards the hills westwards than has generally been imagined.<sup>303</sup>

It appears to me that what the old 'Arab writers say respecting the “tributaries, which go to make the Mihrán of Sind,” has been overlooked, or not understood. Al-Mas'údí, for example, says (page 206), that, “it comes from the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind,” and adds, that, “with its tributaries, which rise in those countries [lying

<sup>302</sup> See farther on where these changes are described.

<sup>303</sup> Vast changes have taken place, and have continued to occur down to the present time, in the course of the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, above Aṭak (see my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” page 32), as well as below Kálá Bágh where it issues from the mountain tracts, particularly between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Níází Afgháns and Mián Wálah. (See “NOTES” page 322, and 343, note ¶). There is, as already mentioned in note 116, page 207, of this paper, a tradition, that in ancient times, the country round Laka'í of the Marwat Afgháns was a vast lake, as the ancient name Dand or Dhand indicates, and was so called long before these Afgháns gained a footing therein. See also a note farther on.

Between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Níázís and the modern Derah of Ismá'íl Khán, the course of the Ab-i-Sind appears likewise to have changed considerably; and the Gumul and its tributary, the river of the Jzíobah Darah and its affluents, and other streams from the range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyáh, Tor Ghar, Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, between the Gamílah or Gambílah and the Surí River near Kashmúr, mentioned in note 116, above referred to (which now are for the most part dry, or their waters drawn off for irrigation purposes, and which only find their way to the Ab-i-Sind in time of flood, if they reach it at all), once contributed greatly to the volume of the great river, as I shall presently show.



towards the *kohistán*, bounding it on the west and north he means], it flows on towards Multán." Now from this it is quite clear that none of the five rivers constituting the *Panch Nad*, or *Panj Áb* can be meant or referred to here, because the "Mihrán Rúd," or *Áb-i-Sind*,<sup>304</sup> which he is describing, only united with the other great river into which the *Panch Nad*, or *Panj Áb* fell, three days' journey, or seventy-one miles as the crow flies, to the *southward* of Multán [that was, near *U'chchh*, but, it must be remembered, that *U'chchh* is never mentioned by these old writers by that name], consequently these tributaries were quite distinct from the *Panch Nad*, or *Panj Áb*, and united with the "Mihrán Rúd" or *Áb-i-Sind*, to the *northwards*, and rather above *Multán*.<sup>305</sup>

This is further confirmed by the statement of *Al-Mas'údí* (page 207), that, "the fourth river of the five which go to form the *Mihrán Rúd*"<sup>306</sup> comes from the boundary or frontier of *Sind* towards, or in the direction of, *Bust*, *Ghaznín*, *دزغون*, *دزغون* [?], *Ar-Rukháj*, and the territory of *Dáwar*; and another of these five rivers [the tributaries] comes from *Kash-mír*." This, superficially regarded, might seem to refer to the *Bihat* or *Jihlam*, which does come out of *Kash-mír*, but then again, the *Mas'údí* refers to a river which had entered and become part of the "Mihrán Rúd," or *Áb-i-Sind*, before it united with the *Panch Nad*, or *Panj Áb*, of which the *Bihat* was one.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>304</sup> See note 117, for what is meant by "Mihrán Rúd," and the difference between that name and the "Mihrán of Sind."

*Strabo* says, in his Fifteenth Book, that it is stated that there are, altogether, fifteen considerable rivers which flow into the *Indus*. *Arrian* says the same, who takes the number from *Megasthenes*: *Pliny* says there are nineteen. Of course, the united rivers refer to the "Great Mihrán," or "Mihrán of Sind."

<sup>305</sup> In the same way that the five rivers constituting the *Panch Nad*, or *Panj Áb*, which these *Hindí* and *Persian* names signify, the junction of the whole into one stream is known to this day, in the *Muzaffar Garh* district and vicinity, as the "Sáth Nad," or Seven Rivers; while after the junction of the *Ráwí* with the *Chináb* and *Bihat*, farther up, the united waters are known locally as the *Trim Áb*," or Three Rivers.

<sup>306</sup> Because in the *Turkish* language *mír-án* means a river, *Tod*, in his "Rajas'than" (Vol. I, page 19), supposed that *Mihrán* is one and the same word. He says: "the 'sweet river,' the *Meeta Muran* [*Hindí* and *Turkish* together!], a *Sythic* or *Tartar* name for river, and by which alone the *Indus* is known from the *Panj Nud* to the ocean."

To "Panj Nud," he adds a note, that they "are the confluent arms or source of the *Indus*"!

<sup>307</sup> From all this it is clear, that the "tributaries" which go to form the "Mihrán Rúd," *Áb-i-Sind*, or *Indus*, refer to rivers uniting with it on either side above the parallel of *Multán*. There are several of these, but some may have been scarcely worthy of the name of rivers in those remote days, or, since that



Al-Istakharí also says (page 211): “*The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrán of Sind, is said to issue from a mountain range in which* time, may have changed considerably; while others may have been more important than they are at present. I will mention these rivers in rotation. First: the Harú from the mountain tract of Maláçh, bounding Kash-mír on the east, with a course of some sixty miles, which unites with the Indus on the east near the ancient town of Níl-Áb below Aṭak. Second: the Kághzí, or river of Kohát, on the west, with a course of about ninety-five miles. Third: the Sú-hán, rising in the *kohistán* of Gharál, with a course of about one hundred and twenty-four miles, broad and rapid; and though not more than knee-deep in the cold season, is, in the time of inundation, quite impassable. It enters the Indus on the east side, between Makhhaḍ and Kálá Bágh. Fourth: the Kurma’h (*vul.* “Kurram”) from the west, with several important affluents. It has a course of over ninety miles, but its feeders which go to form it, rise still farther to the west. The Kurma’h rises in the mountain range so called, the particulars respecting which will be found in my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” page 78. Near its junction with the Indus it is joined by two considerable tributaries. This is still an important river, and from proofs remaining, and from what tradition asserts, it was, in former times, a great river. This, I conceive to be, without doubt, one of the five tributaries referred to. Fifth: the Gumul, which rises on the east slopes of the great western range of the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, separating the Afghánistán from Zábul-istán—the Ghaznín territory under the Turkish sovereigns, including Kāndahár. A few miles west of the great eastern range of the same Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, it receives from the south-west the river of the Jzíob or Jzíobah Darah (*vul.* “Zhob”), and farther west again, the Kwandar river, flowing through the Darah of that name. All these under the name of Gumul now scarcely reach the Indus except in time of flood, but tradition relates that it was, as it must have been, in by-gone times, a river of considerable magnitude. It has a course of about one hundred and eighty miles; while the river of the Jzíob and Kwandar Darahs have, respectively, courses of about one hundred and twenty-five, and sixty-five miles. The Gumul must at one time have sent a great volume of water into the Indus, and is, undoubtedly, one of the “tributaries” referred to by the old ‘Arab writers. These are the principal rivers above the parallel of Multán; but there are others, and important ones, lower down, which must be noticed here. Sixth: the Káhá river, or rather, the river of the Káhá Darah, which takes its rise in the slopes of the south face of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, which, after a course of between eighty-five and ninety miles, enters the Derah-ját near Harand, where the waters are drawn off for purposes of irrigation. This river, with its feeders, which come from still farther west, is the most considerable of south-east Afghánistán, and appears in ancient times to have been a perennial stream, and to have contributed a considerable body of water to the Indus. Seventh: the river of the Súrí Darah, which rises in the same range, and has a course of some eighty miles. It drains the Shúm plain, but its waters now seldom reach the Indus. It would have entered it between Kin Koṭ and Rúján near where the Indus bent west and flowed in the “Sind Hollow.” Eighth: the Nárí, which rises among the southern slopes of the same great mountain range north of Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, which it passes on the west. Lower down, it receives the waters of the Bolán river, once much more considerable than at present, and the Lahrí river from the east, passes Bhág, also called Bhág-i-Nárí on



the Jíhún rises.” These old geographers can scarcely be expected to have known much respecting those tributaries of the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, north

the east side, and runs southwards in two main branches towards Shadád-púr; and after a course of about one hundred and seventy miles, much of its waters having been drawn off higher up for irrigation purposes, it is lost in the dense *jungal* in the thirsty soil of the great *Ran*, or “Sind Hollow,” about twelve miles south of Tanbbú (“Tumboo,” “Tambú,” and “Tambu” of as many different maps), but, in time of flood, even now, its waters reach the Manchhar lake, one hundred and thirty-four miles farther south, for it then contains a vast body of water. Ninth: the Ghár or Gháj which rises in the Balúchistán near Kalát-i-Nichárah (*vul.* “Khelat”), which, flowing through the Múlah Darah, and making, so to say, the Múlah Pass, after receiving some minor tributaries by the way from the direction of Gand-ábah, issues from the hills; and, after a course altogether of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty miles, is, like the Nárí river, some forty miles farther to the south-east, lost in the great *Ran*—the “Sind Hollow”—about twelve miles north-west of Shadád-púr, but it is generally flooded twice every year. At such times, the waters of these two rivers, Ghár and Nárí, meeting the overflow from the Indus by the old channel I have referred to, causes vast damage, and lays a great tract of country under water, as related in the text farther on.

This great *Ran* of Upper Sind, or “Sind Hollow,” may be said to form the natural boundary of the territory of Sind on the north and north-west, from Kashmúr to Kháiro Garhí, and the Kahtar range on the west.

That the fourth river of the five referred to by Al-Mas’údí, as coming from the side of Bust, Ghaznín, Ar-Rukháj, Dáwar, etc., can refer to the Ghár and its tributaries, is out of the question, because it is impossible for any other river to be referred to as coming from the side of Bust, unless the Kojzakh range has been thrown up since Al-Mas’údí wrote, a thing not impossible, and diverted the *Lorah*, that is, “*the River*,” which now flows through Pushang (incorrectly written *Péshin* in official documents) to the west side of that great range, into Shorá-wak and the sandy desert farther south. There are certainly traditions current among the Afgháns and Tájzíks of these parts, that that river did find its way eastwards in bygone times, and that its old bed lay in the part now constituting the Bolán Pass and defile, and that a great convulsion of nature changed the face of the country, turned up hills, and diverted rivers. Whether the geological appearances are sufficient to warrant our placing faith on these traditions I am unaware, but I believe that all traditions have some foundation of truth.

This may also account for the fact, that such a route as the Bolán is never once mentioned in any history whatever up to quite recent times; and the route from Sind, and sometimes from Multán also, to Kwaṭah and Kandahár, was always by Síwí and Sangán, about twenty-five miles east of the present Bolán route.

The Gumul river, and its tributaries also, certainly rise in the range, which, in Al-Mas’údí’s time, and in all time, formed the eastern boundary of Zábul-istán.

Farther south again than the Ghár, in the “*kohistán*” of Sind, is another important river bed, the Baran of the maps, which drains a large extent of country, and, after a course of about ninety miles or more, unites with the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, a few miles above Koṭrí. Though now chiefly dependent on rain, it appears not to have been always so; and it is, together with some lesser river beds or mountain torrents, as they now are, its tributaries, the rivers referred to by the



of the junction of the river of Kábul and its tributaries with it, seeing that, until comparatively modern times, the tracts through which they flow have been scarcely known to ourselves. The Istakharí immediately after also mentions the “other great river, the Sind Rúd,” distinct from the “Mihrán Rúd,” or *Áb-i-Sind*, which former, he says, “is three days’ journey or stages [that is, lower down stream] from Multán,” and adds, that “the waters of the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Hind wo Sind” of the *Masálik wa Mamálik*] are sweet and pleasant, even *before* its junction with the Mihrán.”

Ibn Hauḳal also mentions (page 216), the junction of the “Mihrán Rúd” with the Sind Rúd *and* the Jand or Qhand Rúd. He subsequently refers (page 218), separately to the Sind Rúd uniting with the “Mihrán Rúd” three days’ journey from Multán, that is below or to the southwards of Multán.

Bearing these important facts in mind respecting the tributaries received by the “Mihrán Rúd” or *Áb-i-Sind* before it reached down as far southwards as Multán, we find, that up to or about the time that Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kaḳá-jah, ruled over the territories of Multán and Sind, from about the parallel of Kin or Kin Koṭ, and between it and Kashmúr where there is a depression westwards,<sup>308</sup> the “Mihrán Rúd” or *Áb-i-Sind*, made a more sudden bend towards the west than in more recent times. At the present day, one of its old channels, which is broad and winds considerably, can be traced westwards from near Kashmúr. It passes Yárú, Kumbrí, Kand Koṭ of the Parní Afgháns, and Ghaus-púr (of Sind: a different place from that mentioned at

Istakharí, who says, “Mukrán is mostly desert waste, and contains but few rivers. Their waters run into the Mihrán [of Sind] on either side of Mansúriyah [the territory dependent on],” and through which that river flowed.

We may consequently assume that “the five rivers which went to form” the Mihrán Rúd or *Áb-i-Sind* (not the “Mihrán of Sind.” See note 117, page 208), according to the Mas’údí, were:—1. The River of Kábul, the Landæy Sín of the Afgháns; 2. The Harú; 3. The Sú-hán; 4. The river of Kurma’h (*vul.* ‘Kurram’); and 5. The Gumul with its tributaries. We may rest assured that the Nárí could not possibly have formed one of the five, because it could not have united with the Mihrán Rúd, or *Áb-i-Sind*, *before* it reached Multán, which all are said to have done.

As recently, however, as Akbar Bádsháh’s reign, we know that the course of the Nárí river was changed by an earthquake, and to such like convulsions of nature all the tracts around are constantly liable, and were often subject.

That the River of Kábul is included among the five rivers of Al-Mas’údí there can be little doubt, and particularly since, at this day, after the junction of all the rivers now forming the *Áb-i-Sind*, or Indus, the united stream is locally called the Sáth Nad, or Seven Rivers. See note 305, page 305.

<sup>308</sup> See note 293, page 300.



page 302), then, changing from the direction of south-south-west more westwards, it passes north of Jágan, between Shikár-púr and Jacob-ábád, and finally reaches the Sind Hollow of Europeans, presently to be noticed, near Kháiro Garhí—the “Khairagari,” “Khairo Garhi,” and “Khyrah Gurhee,” of as many different maps. This ancient channel was, in comparatively recent times, utilized for what became known as the Begári Wá-hah, or Canal, the largest in Siro or Upper Sind. In still more recent times another channel appears to have branched off from near Ghaus-púr, above mentioned, more to the southward and westward, which passed near Lar-kánah, or Lar-káno as the Sindís call it, and from thence made a bend more directly south, passing near Khandiáro, and a few miles east of Noh-Shahrah or Noh-Sharo (the “Nowshera” of the maps), which leaving Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, some sixteen miles or thereabouts on the west, united with the old channel of the river called the Kunbh, which intervened between Síw-istán and the Mihrán of Sind when Muhammad, the son of Kásim, marched from Nírún to attack Bahman-ábád, as related at page 232. This old channel can be traced from the existing mounds and hollows as far down as about eight miles east of Lakhí, near which the rise of the country towards the hills on the west turned it aside, on which it took a more south-easterly course towards Hálah (the “Halla” of the maps), passing between it and Shadád-púr towards its former place of junction with the Mihrán of Sind, Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, some distance south of Manşúriyah and Bahman-ábád. I may add that the whole of Siro, or Upper Sind, and Wicholo or Middle Sind, is so cut up with *dhands* or beds of lakes, and *puránahs*, *buddhs*, *dhoro*s, or deserted channels, many of which have now been utilized as canals, as to show, as previously noticed, that there is scarcely any part of this vast alluvial tract, over which in the course of ages, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus has not flowed at some time or other, and the Mihrán of Sind, Hakrá, or Wahindah also, but to a much less degree.

After some further changes in Siro or Upper Sind, another channel appears to have branched off from the main stream, which ran in a more southerly direction from the first, towards Lar-kánah, constituting what is called in our maps “the Western Nára,” and “Narra,” and which channel is still open.

I now come to the most important of the channels, and the oldest of which we have any record, which branched off between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr in a westerly direction, passing between six and seven miles north of Kumbrí, before mentioned, then within two miles south of “Sanrí” and “Sundree” of the maps, then more towards the north towards the fort of Dil-Murád, to within seven miles of Uchchh (this



is the third place of that name previously noticed, and which lies immediately at the skirts of the outer waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, (described in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 5, and 658), after which it bends southwards at about eleven miles west of Khán Garh, now called Jacob-ábád, towards Kháiro-Garhí and Shadád-púr. This ancient channel, which is likewise the largest, marks the boundary of our territory in Upper Sind, and separates it from Kachchhí. It has since been utilized, I believe, for the new "Frontier Canal," or at least, such was proposed.

From what the historian of Sind, Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, says in his work, we know that as late as his day, the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind, made a sharp bend westwards below Rúján (the "Rohjan" and "Rojhan," etc., of the maps), a few miles above Kin Koṭ, and that the distance from the river to Síwí, (one of the *mahálls* of the *Sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *Shúbah*, in the southern part of the Afghán state lately annexed), in one direction, that is from the river bank near Rúján in the direction of Síwí westwards, was then one hundred *kuroh*, equal to one hundred and seventy-five miles. It is now only one hundred and fifty-two miles; while, in the opposite direction, that is towards the south, in about the direction of Bakhar, the river was, in Mír Ma'súm's time, but sixty *kuroh* distant from Síwí, equal to one hundred and five miles, but now its nearest point is distant one hundred and thirty-two miles, just in the position where the other old channel I have referred to at page 308, which runs from near Kashmúr by Kand Koṭ, lies. This ancient channel or great depression which I now refer to, is what is called, locally, the *Ran* or Marsh, the *Paṭ* or Desert, and "*Dash-t-i-Bedárí*," by the people, and the "Sind Hollow" by Europeans. The land slopes down from the banks of the present channel of the Indus towards the west as far as this depression. For example:—Kashmúr on the river bank is some eighty feet *higher* than Khán Garh or Jacob-ábád, and the latter place is lower by some ninety feet than the bed of the Indus at Mithrí, between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr, twenty-one miles farther north. There is nothing really to keep back the river until the country north and west of this great depression begins to rise in the direction of the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh on the north, and the Kaṭṭar range<sup>309</sup> (turned into "Kheerthur," in the maps) on the west; for the country along the right or west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus continues higher than the level of this great depression down beyond Mihar on the west, as far down as which the overflow from the river between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr finds its way; and on some occasions as far down as the Manchhar lake, as I shall presently show.

<sup>309</sup> See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 558, and note ††.



High mounds, the sites of former towns, and the substantial ruins of others, such as Fath-púr,<sup>310</sup> Uchchh, and Sháh-púr; the fact that the tract of country north of Shikár-púr, which is now known as the "Frontier District," is cut up, so to say, with *dhorahs* or old channels, and *dhands* or hollows, in which water accumulates; and that it is still flooded from the Ab-i-Sind or Indus for twenty miles north of Ghaus-púr; all tend to confirm the statements of former historians, that the northern parts of Sind, as anciently constituted, lying north of Shikár-púr, and between Rúján and Gand-ábah, contained a number of flourishing towns and villages, and was in a high state of cultivation, and, that the lands lying along the banks of the Ghár or Gháj river used to be some of the most productive in all Sind.

Only fifteen years ago an incident occurred illustrating what I have here stated. The waters of the Indus rose in the month of July some eight or nine feet higher than usual between Kin Kot and Kashmúr, which, flowing in two branches in the direction of about west-south-west, entered the ancient channel in the great depression, the so-called "Sind Hollow," and reached the district of Lar-kánah. The two branches having united at Kháiro Garhí, forty miles west of Shikár-púr, were joined by the overflow of rain-water from the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Pahár, and the Koh-i-Siyáh or Kálá Pahár ranges, bounding the Kachchhí plain on the north, and the water from the Ghár river from the Múlah Pass. The united waters then continued their course towards the south, passing near the town of Shadád-púr,<sup>311</sup> and finally entered

<sup>310</sup> This place was, in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, the chief town of the *Maháll* or sub-district, one of twelve into which the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Súbah* was divided. The inhabitants then were Samíjahs, and Zhárijahs; they had 8050 *bíghs* of land under cultivation; were assessed thereon in 477, 858 *dáms* (equal to just 11,446 *rúpís* and a-half); and had to furnish 200 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

<sup>311</sup> Dr. R. H. Kennedy, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Bombay Column of the Army of the Indus, crossed part of this great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," marching from Lar-kánah upwards towards Shadád-púr, in March, 1839. He says ("Campaign of the Army of the Indus," Vol. I, page 189): "The third march brought us to Shadadpore: the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval between spring tides, than an inland district." On leaving Shadád-púr, he says: "In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy colour, and showing signs of *being sometimes under water*. At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognized." In another place (Vol. II, page 165) he says: "Betwixt Mehur and Bang [Bhág], we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-convulsion; the strata of soil distinctly show,



the Nárah branch of the river and the Manchhar lake. A vast area of country was flooded in the Shikár-púr, Lar-kánah, and Mihar districts; and upwards of five hundred villages, great and small, were flooded, and many substantial buildings swept away.

It therefore may be assumed that it is not beyond the range of possibility, that, some day, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, may leave its present channel and choose a new one, notwithstanding that it has not altered very materially for nearly a century, but a slight obstacle might bring about a great change.<sup>312</sup>

ing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface bursting upwards and elevated by volcanic action. See note 307, page 305. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky [Lakhhí]; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of *the silt of the Indus*, or whatever *inland sea* once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Dandur [Dhádár] to Sukkar [Sakhar] is one uniform flat of the same character.

Masson, who travelled in Sind some years previous to the annexation of the country, mentions (Vol. II, page 130), that latterly, the inundations of the Indus had increased westerly, and that, near "Dérá Ghaibí," which is nearly forty miles to the southwards of Kháiro Garhí, mentioned above, "is a branch of the Indus," (page 132.).

<sup>312</sup> We may judge of the vast changes which must have taken place in the lapse of many centuries in the tracts lying in and under the south-eastern parts of the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, and the outer and lower range of Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, the tracts in which the Marí and Bughtí, and other Balúchís now dwell, in which the Dáwí and Nághar Afgháns previously dwelt, and likewise in the parts still farther west. Al-Idrísí refers to marshy places west of the Áb-i-Sind between Kashmúr and Sharú-sán or Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán; and the *Árá'ish-i-Maḥ-fil*, a more modern work, states, that between Bakhar and Síwí, nearly one hundred and fifty miles to the north-north-west, the towns and villages are often laid waste through the Áb-i-Sind flowing from the south towards the north [sic. in *Mss.*] at intervals of some years. For half this distance towards the north and north-west, between Bakhar and Síwí, the half nearest the latter has now few villages to be laid waste; for the country has been for more than two centuries, a howling desert, over which, for four months together, the deadly *simúm* blows, and in the other half, nearest Bakhar, the villages and towns are not numerous; but, in both portions, the ruins of several ancient towns and villages are even still to be traced. These statements contained in the *Árá'ish-i-Maḥ-fil*, are confirmed by the statements of Mír Ma'ssum of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, already referred to, who describes the state of that part in his day.

We read in the native historians—the originals I mean—of these parts being in ancient times well cultivated and flourishing, and of numerous gardens, particularly around Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, now, or very lately, a complete waste. Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, would scarcely have *selected* Síwí as his future place of residence, when under the necessity of evacuating Kandahár, and previous to his conquest of Sind, in preference to Kwatah (*vul.* "Quetta") and Kalát-i-Ni-



The Ghár river, previously referred to, appears to have sent another branch into the *Áb-i-Sind* in recent times, and in a more easterly direction. This old channel, which is broad and deep, can be traced from about fourteen miles to the southward of *Kháiro Garhí*. It runs in the direction of about east-south-east, passing *Lar-kánah* and the ruins of *Mahortah* on the north, and after passing them about three miles, it turns sharply to the northward, and unites with the *Áb-i-Sind* a little over sixteen miles west of *Bakhar*, and about eight miles higher up than the point where the *Western Nárah*, as it is called by Europeans, branches off from the *Áb-i-Sind*, or *Indus*. Some have mistaken this

*chárah* (*vul.* "Khelat"), if it had been, and the tracts surrounding it, anything like what they subsequently became, and lately were. After his time, and within two generations, a great change took place. *Síwí* became so very sickly, that *Sultán Maḥmúd Khán*, the feudatory of *Bakhar* and its dependencies under the *Arghúns*, of which *Síwí* was a dependent district, had to replace its garrison yearly; for most of the men perished through the badness of the climate and water. Of the badness of the water on the way from the *Derah* of *Ghází Khán* to the *Shrine* of *Sakhí Sarwar*, I can, myself, testify. This continued until the time of *Akbar Bádsháh*, after the death of the above mentioned *Sultán Maḥmúd Khán*, when *Bakhar* and its dependencies became annexed as a *Sarkár* to the *Multán Shúbah*. Shortly after, a great flood came, accompanied by some volcanic action (See what *Dr. R. H. Kennedy* states in the preceding note, 311), and the spring-head, the source of this river, which supplied the place, became changed, and the river's course likewise, and the deleterious nature of the water at the same time. Previous to this change, the river used to flow a distance of fifty *kuroh*, and its waters collecting in the *Sar-Wáh* district—about the position of the great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," already referred to, and once the channel of the *Áb-i-Sind*, or *Indus*—used to be drawn off for irrigation purposes, and what remained reached the *Manchhar* lake, about one hundred and twenty miles farther to the south, in *Wicholo* or *Middle Sind*.

*Alexander's* march, according to the map given by *Cunningham* in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 248, is represented as leading straight down from "Uch," which he calls "*Alexandria*" [see the observations on this subject in note 192, page 244] to "Ubaro" along the *Indus*, and then by "Aror" to "Mahorta" across the *Indus* as it at present flows, and from thence down the west bank to "Sehwán," and subsequently, by "Brahmanabad," "Hala," "Kotri," and "Thatha" to "Kurachí." In another direction *Alexander* is taken from "Kotri" to "Lonibari ost," just according to the present course of the river, as though it had never changed from his time to this day. Of course, all this is pure imagination, while we know what mighty changes have taken place, even since the time of the 'Arab conquest of *Sind*, and that the river has been constantly changing.

The same writer makes "Kraterus" cross the *Indus* at "Fázilpur," and then takes him by "Kusmur" and "Khangar" to "Dadar" and "Bagh," and so through the "Bolan defile;" and quotes *Curtius* as his authority for all this, but I fail to find any confirmation of it in the latter's history after careful search, but I know quite well that none of the places mentioned were then in existence, and that the *Indus* did not run then as supposed.



old branch of the Ghár for the Nárah; but the latter is a natural branch or offset from the Áb-i-Sind, and not a canal, as some have imagined, but it may have been artificially improved in recent times.

Mahortah, near Lar-kánah, on the Ghár channel, is the site of an ancient fortified town, on a great mound, and, in former times, must have been a place of some importance.

The Nárah, which is navigable, runs in a very tortuous channel, hence its name of Nárah or Snake, like the so-called Eastern Nárah, elsewhere described, but the channel of the one under description winds very much more than its eastern namesake. It pursues a course almost parallel with the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, and on the northern side falls into, and forms, the Manchhar lake. Its continuation, known as the Áral, issues from the eastern side of the lake, and unites with the main channel of the Áb-i-Sind below the town of Sihwán, the ancient Síw-istán, which gave name to the province of which it was the capital.

This Nárah channel is probably the continuation of that in which the diverted branch of the Hakrá, or Mihrán, first flowed, when diverted from the east of Aror.

Farther south again, and within the limits of the old *Sarkár* of Síw-istán, or Wícholo, or Middle Sind (which has been mistaken for Síwí and its district, more than two hundred and ten miles, as the crow flies, farther north),<sup>313</sup> the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, was kept within bounds,

<sup>313</sup> This is the name, which strange to relate, nearly every English writer manages to mistake for Síwí of the Parńí Afgháns, because some stupid or careless map-maker or engraver, in former years, before correct surveys were made, happened to write the name of this well-known province of Wícholo or middle Sind, and its chief town, a little too far north.

Professor Lassen, too, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," taking his information, apparently, from English writers, makes the usual error of mistaking Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, for the hilly tract of country forming the southern boundary of the Afghán state, where the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Sulímán range, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, becomes mixed up with the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár (as they are called in various languages used in this neighbourhood where so many different peoples adjoin each other), around Síwí of the Parńí Afgháns, while, at the same time, he calls it correctly, "Sindomana—Sihwan." This ought to have opened his eyes to the fact, that Síw-istán or Sindomána, or Sihwán, is not Síwí, and never was Síwí.

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (page 264): "I agree with all previous writers in identifying Sindomána with Sehwan; partly from its similarity of name [I fear "similarity," after this fashion goes too great a way in these "identifications"]. \* \* \* At page 266 he says: "Its present name is said to be a contraction of Sewistán. \* \* \* It seems strange that a notable place like Sehwan should not be noticed by Ptolemy under any recognizable name. \* \* \* I, therefore, reject the reading of Sewistán [the



and prevented from encroaching farther westwards, through the rise of the country in that direction towards the Kaḥṭar range, and also by the rocky nature of the country, the lower skirts of the Lakhḥí mountains. This rocky barrier intervened from Síw-istán Ḥawelí, the Sindú-stán, Sharúsán, and Síw-istán of the old geographers and the A'ín-i-Akbarí—the modern Sihwán—down to within a few miles of Ṭhaṭḥah, north and west of which it once flowed.<sup>314</sup> Even this rocky name is not written “Sewistán,” but Síw-istán] as a modern innovation of the Hindus, to connect the place with the name of the god Siva, etc., etc.

It would have been passing strange if Ptolemy had mentioned it under the name of “Sehwán,” since it was not known by the name of Sihwán for ages after Ptolemy. I, however, beg to say, that the name Síw-istán, is *perfectly correct*. It was so called when the 'Arabs conquered Sind, and the Chach Námah shows that it was so called before that time; while the statements of early Muḥammadan geographers show, that it continued to be so called, and likewise Sharú-sán and Sindú-stán, for the first three centuries of the Muḥammadan era. That such was the fact, every native writer, (including the historians of Sind), from the earliest time that Sind is mentioned in history, shows, as all may see who can read the originals for themselves. The author of the “Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí,” who wrote in 1260 A. D., was not a Hindú, yet he calls it Síw-istán and Sindú-stán (pages 532 and 539); and Ibn Baṭúṭah, who likewise, was not a Hindú, calls it Síw-istán. It was still best known by that name in Abú-l-Faẓl's time, and the province also. It is not surprising, therefore, that “Hwen Thsang does not notice Sehwán,” it would have been surprising if he had, because it was not known as Sihwán in his day any more than in Ptolemy's.

Another modern writer—Tod—in his “Rajas'than” (Vol. II, page 230), on the other hand, mistakes Síw-istán for “*Seistan*, region of cold—‘sei’—cold,” but in what language he does not say, and he places it “on both sides of the Indus.” Sístán is *hot* enough, but it does not lie on both sides of the Indus; but then Tod's geographical, like his historical statements, are often of the wildest.

The most serious error made respecting Síw-istán is by a Government official. Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, formerly assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Balúchistán, in a very lengthy “Report” to Government on *Síwí* (which he calls “*Sewí*”), and other Afghán districts, *some three degrees farther north than Síw-istán or Sihwán*, (taken, apparently, from some incorrect extract from the A'ín-i-Akbarí) bases all his theories, and even calculates the revenue settlements on this, the chief town of Wíḥolo or middle Sind, also giving name to a large province, being Síwí in southern Afghánistán which, of course, it is not. See my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” page 553, and Erratum.

<sup>314</sup> There is no doubt whatever that, in comparatively modern times, the main channel of the Ab-i-Sind, leaving the great *ran* or “Sind Hollow,” took a more directly southern course than at present, from a point a little west of Darbelo. In the account of the campaign against Mírzá Jání Beg, the Tar-khán, the last independent ruler of the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭḥah, Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, who was present in that expedition, says, that “the Ab-i-Sind is six *kuroh* [about eleven miles] from Síw-istán, or Sihwán, and that Jání Beg arrived in the river from Lár, or lower Sind, with a fleet of *Ghurábs*,” thus showing that there must have been plenty of water in that branch, even at that comparatively modern period, namely, 994 H. (1585 A. D.) See pages 112 and 229.



barrier has felt the force of the great river; for the roadway over the Lakhhi range, which existed when the troops going to Kandahár in 1839 passed over it, was soon after washed away, and Sihwán, which was close to the river some years ago, is now three miles or more inland; and three remarkable detached rocks lower down, between Bahman jo Púro and Thathah, which forty years ago were eight miles inland, are (or very lately were, for the changes are unceasing) now in the bed of the river.

Thus the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it, was a tributary, along with the other rivers now forming the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab, of the Hakrá, or Wahindah, which having all united into one great river at the *Dosh-i-Ab*, as related by the old 'Arab and Sindí writers, formed the Mihrán of Sind, or Sind-Ságar. Lower down than this point of junction it sent off a branch to the westwards which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, on the east, which again united with the main channel above Mansúriyah, and entered the ocean sometimes by one, and sometimes by two principal mouths. The Aror branch having been subsequently diverted, and other changes having taken place, the Ab-i-Sind began to incline more towards the west from near Ghaus-púr, in the great depression referred to at page 304, and by which its surplus waters still find their way towards Aror, and deserted the other tributaries of the Hakrá. It then passed between where Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr stand, took a direct westerly course, and cut a new channel for itself in what is now known to us as the Sind Hollow, and found its way south as before described. Then other changes succeeded—for they were constantly taking place more or less—through the Bíáh and its tributaries, which formed the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, inclining to the westwards, when it joined the Ab-i-Sind, and formed a new Panch Nad, or Panj Ab, and deserted the Hakrá altogether. This appears to have caused the Ab-i-Sind to alter its course, and, instead of turning so suddenly westwards as before, it inclined more to the south-westwards, leaving the Sind Hollow and cutting a new channel for itself by Kand Koṭ, as before described, passing the present Laṭ-kánah on the west, and then inclining southwards in the direction of Síw-istán. Other changes succeeding, when near the parallel of Aror, it found its way into the channel into which the western branch of the Hakrá or Mihrán of Sind had been diverted, and began to cut its way through the limestone hills where Rúhí and Bakhar now stand. From thence it passed Darbelah

Mír Ma'súm also says, that, at that time, there was "a small fort on the river bank at Lahorí above Naṣr-púr." The last named place is now sixteen miles east of the river.



or Darbelo, flowed to the southwards, and got into the old channel of the Kunbh, which flowed between Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád when Muḥammad, son of Kásim, marched to attack them, and through the Noh-Shahrah district of Sind, passing the range of low hills on which the modern Haidar-ábád stands on the east, and about sixteen miles or more east of the Mukhahlí hills, entered the ocean, at one period to the east of Debal and at another on the west, a little to the south of Mughal-bín, which, in comparatively modern times, was near the sea-coast.

The ancient sea-port of Sind, Debal, or Dewal, was well known to the English traders down to within the last two hundred years; and this part of the channel was navigable for small sailing ships up to within a short distance of Thaṭṭah. A vast deal of the delta is of comparatively recent formation; for the small district dependent on Bádín was the most southerly part of Sind in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and now it is over seventy miles from the southernmost part of the delta. The river, no doubt, formed several smaller channels therein, and, in later times, inclined farther west a little below Thaṭṭah, and formed a new channel, the Bhágar, which still passed near Debal and was still navigable as far up as Thaṭṭah. Hence, in all probability, the error and confusion arose, because Debal was known as "the Port of Thaṭṭah," that it must be Thaṭṭah itself, which had not been founded until after Debal had gone to comparative decay. It was the first place in the territory of Sind attacked by the 'Arab leader, Muḥammad, son of Kásim, the Şakífí, early in 93 H. (711 A. D.)<sup>315</sup>

<sup>315</sup> See page 206. Mr. A. W. Hughes, in his "Sind Gazetteer," on the conquest of Sind, says (p. 24): "Muhammad Kásim [here we have the usual error. See note 242, page 276] left Shiráz on this expedition in H. 92 (A. D. 711), with a fine army [the 'fine army' amounted to about 10,000] and *would seem* (sic.) to have reached [There is not the shadow of a doubt about it] the seaport of Debal (*supposed* by some to have been Manora, near Karáchi, but by others Tatta) early in the following year, which he soon captured." At page 123 of the same "Gazetteer," under the heading of "Bambura," he states: "It is stated [by whom not said] that *there are reasons for supposing* that this ancient place was known during the eighth century under the names of Debal, Dewal, or Dawul [!]; and that it was the first town that was stormed by the Muslim invader, Muhammad Kásim Sákifi." At page 323, again, we have:—"It is *supposed* that Bambura may very possibly have been the Dewal (or Debal) \* \* \* Others, again [who?], have *presumed* that Tatta was the ancient Debal, or that even Manora was the place stormed \* \* \* At page 414, the compiler tells us, under the head of Karáchi, that, "By some writers it is *supposed* to occupy the same position, or to be at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient seaport of Dewal (or Debal)," etc.

Here it will be seen that we have three different "suppositions," or "it is saids," and the like, respecting this one place, and all incorrect, as I shall now show. See also a deal on this subject in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India,"



## THE WIHAT, BIHAT, OR ANCIENT BEDASTÁ.

The Wihat, Bihat, or Bedastá, constituted one of the seven rivers pp. 297 to 302. The opinion of Mr. Crow, who was for many years stationed at Thathah (not "Tatta") is the only one nearly correct.

Abú-l-Fazl was the first to make a blunder on this subject in stating that Thathah was Debal, and, after the same fashion, telling us that Bakhar was "Manşúrah," which it was not: its site is one hundred and twenty-one miles south of Bakhar. These errors are the more unaccountable seeing that he described the ruins of Bahman-ábád correctly (see note 105), page 196 and must have known that Thathah was not founded for some centuries after the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs. Bambhúrah cannot possibly be Debal of the 'Arabs for the reasons given at page 224, and as also shown in the map from the "Masálik wo Mamálik" at page 213.

Cunningham has also gone astray with regard to the position of Debal or Dewal. In his "Ancient India," p. 279, after "identifying *Haidarabad* as *Nirunkot*," he says, "Abulfeda [Abú-l-Fidá ?] makes it 25 farsangs from *Debal*. \* \* \* *Lári bandar* I will presently show to have been the most probable position of the ancient *Debal*."

I may mention, however, *en passant*, that Bú Riḥán says *Lári Bandar*—*Loharání*—was twelve *farsakhs* from *Debal*. See also Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

At page 297 of his work Cunningham says: "The position of the celebrated port of *Debal*, the emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, is still unsettled. By Abul Fazl and the later Muhammadan writers, *Debal* has been confounded with *Thatha*; but as *Debal* was no longer in existence [indeed!] when they wrote, I conclude that they were misled by the name of *Debal Thatha*, which is frequently applied to *Thatha* itself. Similarly, *Bráhmāna*, or *Bráhmānábád*, was called *Debal Kángra* [?], and the famous seaport of *Debal* was named *Debal Sindí*. But *Diwal* [sic.] or *Debal*, means simply a temple, and therefore *Debal Sindí* means the temple at or near the town of *Sindhi*. Burton says that the shawls of *Thatha* are still called *Shál-i-Debali*, but this only proves that *Debal* was the place where the merchants procured the *Thatha* shawls."

I may mention, however, that silken cloth or fabric of various colours, brocade, is called *debá* in the Persian language, and that *debá-i* is its adjective, but the noun is certainly not derived from *Debal* or *Dewal*, because *debá* is a purely Persian word, and the place was so called on account of its great *budh* or temple. See page 231.

Cunningham then quotes Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," I. 130, who is understood to say, that "the river *Sindhi*" is only a small branch of the Indus, which appellation is now lost in the country [?] which it so plentifully waters and is called *Divellee*, or Seven mouths," and he adds: "This statement shows [?] that the branch of the Indus leading up to *Lári bandar* was called *Debali* or the river of *Debal*, etc. \* \* \* That this was the *Piti* branch of the Indus I infer from its other name of *Sindhi*, which I take to be the same as *Sinthon Ostium* of Ptolemy, or the second mouth of the river from the west." From this we are supposed to understand that the "Piti" mouth of the Indus existed much the same in Ptolemy's time as now, and that *Sindhí* means second!

After saying at page 279, that he is going to "identify" it (*Debal*) as "*Lári bandar*," in another place he tells us, that, "if *Debal* cannot be identified with either *Karâchi* or *Lári bandar*, it must be looked for somewhere between them."



mentioned in the "Vedic Hymns," as the "Saptah Sindhún, or Sindha-

He should have added something more that Hamilton says, namely, that "The river of *Sindy* would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a *Mahometan* Saint, who has a high Tower built over him, called *Sindy* Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a land mark. This writer, according to his map, places "Duill" (Debal) in Mackraun (Mukrán).

There is plenty of *proof*, however, that neither of the above statements are correct as to its situation, nor the assertion that it was no longer in existence when Abú-l-Fazl wrote.

As late as the time when the *Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh* was written, the author of which was an official of the Dihlí empire in the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, and a native of Paṭiálah, Debal is said, by him, to be the chief port of Sind; and Karáchí was unknown. I may add that the place on which Karáchí stands is considered really to be part of Mukrán rather than of Sind.

The author above quoted says: "Debal is a great place for pearls and other valuable commodities; and it has salt and iron mines, *which pay a considerable revenue to the Government.* Near it, at six *kuroh* distant, is a mine or quarry of yellow stone of great value for building purposes. About 4,000 vessels and boats belong to the port of Debal."

Salt in vast quantities still exists in the *Sháh Bandar ta'alluḳah* of the Karáchí District or Collectorate.

Wood, too, with all his acumen, fell into the same error, that Thaṭṭah and Dewal, and even Bahman-ábád, were all one.

The earliest notice, probably, that we have respecting the seaports of Sind and the river Indus, from the writings of an Englishman, is contained in a "Tractate written by Nicholas Whithington, who was left in the Mogolls country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612." He says: "Concerning Sinda, no city is by general report of greater trade in the Indies than *Tatta*, the chief port, *Lowri bandar*, three days journey from it; a fair road without the river's mouth, clear of worms, which, about Surat, and other places of the *Indies*, after three or four months' riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder return. In two months from hence by water they go to *Lahor*, and return in one down. The ports and roads of *Sinda* are free. \* \* \* Goods may be conveyed from *Agra* on camels to *Buckor* in twenty days, which is on *Sinda* river, thence in fifteen or sixteen days aboard the ships. One may go as soon from *Agra* to *Sinda* as *Surat*, but there is more thieving which the *Mogoll* seeks to prevent."

The distance, in a direct line, is rather greater to Bakhar than to Súrat, but now, for half the way, the route lies through Jasal-mír and the waterless desert, and would certainly not be preferred to the other to Súrat. It is evident from this, that, at the period in question, that part was not so waterless as it has become in recent times.

Whithington continues: "The inhabitants of *Sinda* are mostly *Razbootches*, *Banians*, and *Boloches*: in Cities and Towns the Governors are *Mogolls*. \* \* \* The *Boloches* are of *Mahmets* religion. They deal much in camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the river, murdering such as they rob. When I was in *Sinda*, they took a boat with seven *Italians*, one *Portugal* Friar, the rest slain in fight. The last named was ripped open by them for gold."

Next we come to Walter Paynton, who accompanied Captain Christopher



wah," here to be noticed from west to east ; and, according to the same

Newport in 1612, on the twelfth voyage to India, and who kept a journal. He gives a long account of Balúch treachery on the coast. They sent a boat on shore in which was Sir Thomas Powell, accompanied by two Persian servants of the Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, on his way to Işfaḥán. He says : "It was for the purpose of discovering the countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little village, called *Tesseque* [Jask?], they spake with camell men, and others of the countrey people, by whom they understood, that that countrey was called *Getche Macguerona* [Kích-Mukrán], and the inhabitants *Boloches* : all living under the government of one King, named *Melicke Meirza*, whose chiefe residence was some five or six days' iourney from hence, at a port called *Guader*."

They discovered the intended treachery in time, however, and by a stratagem, managed to reach the ship again. This was on the 19th September, 1612. "The ship," he continues, "was steered for *Sind*, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the *Indus* in 24 degrees 38 minutes, in the Mogolls dominions. Variation 16 degrees 45 minutes, in five fathoms, less one foot of water, and in good ground. \* \* \* Boats were sent from *DIUL* [Dewal] for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people, 29th September, and the Ambassador left the ship under a salute of 11 guns. \* \* \* *Tata*, a great citie one dayes iourney from *DIUL*, both cities standing in the Great *Mogolls Dominions*."

Láhrí Bandar is mentioned separately, and was a totally distinct place from *Diul* or *Debal*. Bú-Riḥán says they were twelve *farsakhs*, or leagues apart.

Walter Paynton, and Joseph Salbancke [the same who proceeded from Ajmír to Işfaḥán by Kāndahár. See the account of his journey in my "NOTES ON AFĠHÁNISTÁN," page 547], who were merchants on board, were sent on shore to proceed to *Diul* in one of the country boats ; and the former, in his narrative states, that, "at the time, the ship was riding about four or five miles from the River's mouth from whence they had fifteen miles to the city or town of *Diul*, where the Ambassador had gone. He stayed in a house in *Diul* itself, and there they lodged while the party remained there. They went "through the city to the castle, and were received by the Governour, Arah Manewardus [sic in text]." Compare Cunningham's "Ancient India," pages 297—302."

"The *Portuguese* incited the Governour of *Diul* against the party, and endeavoured to cut them off. Sir Robert Shirley wished to be allowed to proceed to *Tatta*, but the Governour would not give permission, so he left, with one *Persian* servant, without leave, and had by the way to pass a river where he could get no one to take them across, the Governour having prohibited it under pain of death. They made rafts of boards and timbers, and the Ambassador "shipped himself" with his servant to help him in navigating it, and had no sooner put off, than 20 or 30 horsemen came in great haste, despatched by the Governour [the Hindú "Dás"] to seize them. They were brought back, men swimming to the raft, which *Nazr Beg*, the servant, was not able to guide against the tide, and they narrowly escaped drowning. The Ambassador's followers "disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward, shot off his pistol in their faces, and was instantly slain by another shot, and the rest carried away prisoners to *Diulsinde* [i.e., Dewal on the Sind, by which name others also mention it], being pillaged by the way by the souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to *Tatta*, where



legends, the tracts originally occupied by the “Vedic people,” were the

they were friendly entertained of the Governour [he] being a *Persian*. Sir Thomas Powell and Master Francis Bub were then dead before in *Diulsinde*. He (Sir Thomas Shirley) remained at *Tatta* till fit opportunity for *Agra*, the way being long and in danger of thieves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong convoy, for whom he waited also two months.

“The Lady Powell in this place was delivered of a son, but she and it, together with Master Michael Powell, brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his (Sir Thomas Shirley’s) coming to *Agra*, the *Mogoll* [Jahán-gír Bádsháh] gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint, sent for the *Banian* Governour of *Diulsinde*, to answer at the Coart, promising him his own revenge, if he would stay. But he hasting to *Persia*, after many presents from the *Mogoll*, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for *Persia*, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber, his Apothecary, returned to *Surat*, and John Heriot dyed at *Agra*. There remained with him of his old Followers only his Lady, and her Woman, two *Persians*, the old *Armenian*, and the *Chircassian* [Circassian]: His Dutch Jeweller came from *Agra* to *Surat*, with Master Edwards.” See the map from *Purchas*, opposite, also the old map at page 297, which will show where Debal was, and the changes in the mouths of the Indus.

The above will, I think, conclusively show that Dewal was not *Thaṭhah*, nor *Láhrí Bandar*, and that all three were totally different places, as is distinctly stated by the native authors of *Sind*.

Subsequent to this unfortunate affair, and ill-treatment of our people by this mild Hindú, W. Paynton, then Captain Paynton, mentions “*Diul*, near the mouth of the River *Indus*,” as well as “*Diu* in *Guzurat* where the *Portuguese*, among other places, have a very strong castle.”

Sir Thomas Herbert left England in 1626, and was also landed at *Diul*. Paynton says: “*Tutta* is one of the most celebrated Marts of *India*, so encompassed with the River *Indus*, that it makes a Peninsula. *Loor Bander* [*Láhrí Bandar*] is the Port of it, but Ships that lie there are subject to the Worm [this is contrary to the statement of Whithington], as at *Swally*, *Goa*,” etc.

In the account of Sir Thomas Roe’s embassy in 1615, Terry, his Chaplain, writes: “*Tatta*, a very fruitful and pleasant country, made so partly by the branchings of the *Indus*, that spreads itself into various Circlets, and forms many little Islands up and down. \* \* \* The main Current of this River meets with the Sea at *Sindee* [*i. e.*, Dewal, as shown in the previous notices], a place noted for many curious handicrafts.”

Thevenot, who reached *Súrat* about fifty years after, namely, in 1665–66, says, respecting the “Province of *Sindy*, which some call *Tatta*,” that “The chief Town of this Province is *Tatta*, and the most Southern Town *Diul*. It is still called *Diul-Sind*, and was heretofore called *Dobil* [Debal he means]. It lies in the 24th or 25th degree of Latitude. There are some *Oriental*s that call the Country of *Sinde* by the name of the Kingdom of *Diul* [he is quite correct: it is called the territory of Debal or *Lár*]. It is a country of great Traffick, and especially the Town of *Tatta*, where the Indian Merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the Inhabitants, who are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts [and still are]. The *Indus* makes a great many little Islands towards *Tatta*, and these Islands being fruitful and



seven *do-ábahs*, or deltas, extending from the east bank of the Sindhu, or pleasant, make it one of the most commodious Towns of the *Indies*, though it be exceedingly hot there.

“There is also a great trade at *Lourebender* [Láhrí Bandar], which is three days’ journey from *Tatta*, upon the sea [‘*Diul*’ or *Debal*, according to Paynton, was fifteen miles from ‘*Tatta*’], where there is a better Road for ships, than in any other place in the *Indies*.”

Tavernier, who was in India in the same year as Thevenot, says: “*Tata*, is one of the greatest Cities of *India*, a little above the mouth of the River *Indus*. \* \* \* The Trade of *Tata*, which was formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the mouth of the River grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than another, the sand hills having almost choaked it up.”

It will thus be noted, that a great change was then taking place in the course of the *Indus* hereabouts; that *Thathah*, *Debal*, and *Láhrí Bandar* were totally distinct places—“*Bambura*,” as the site of *Debal* is wholly out of the question—and that such places as “*Manora*,” or “*Karáchí*” were then unknown to fame, although some pretend to identify them, even in the time of the campaign of Alexander of Macedon in these parts. Is it to be supposed that the commanders of English trading vessels, who at the periods I have been quoting, frequented the ports of *Sind*, and the merchants who were passing up and down between *Multán*, *Bakhar*, *Thathah*, and *Debal*, would have been ignorant of *Karáchí* and its port if it had been of any importance, or as good as it was when we first occupied it? About the period in question, what was subsequently called *Karáchí*, was known as *Rám Bágh*; and *Karáchí*, as before remarked, was considered rather to belong to *Mukrán* than to *Sind*.

*Debal* or *Dewal* is said above to have been in 1666, the southernmost town of *Sind*, and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport’s landing of Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell there, and the melancholy events which befell his party therein. The distance given as fifteen miles from *Thathah* by the river, would bring us very near to the Shrine of *Pír Patho*, at the foot of the *Makkahlí* hills, and near the *Bhágár* branch of the *Indus*, about the period in question, a very great stream; and it will be noticed that Sir Robert Shirley tried to cross “a River” from “*Diul*” to get to “*Tatta*” on a raft. I therefore imagine that *Debal* lay in the vicinity of that Shrine, but a little farther south-westward perhaps. The *Bhágár* branch was navigable for vessels of 200 tons as far as *Láhrí Bandar* two centuries since, which latter place was then some twenty miles distant from its mouth.



In De Witts’ Atlas, published at Amsterdam in 1688, in map No. 74, of which a tracing is here inserted, both *Debal* and *Thathah* are situated on the right bank of the *Indus*, showing, that, after Sir Thomas Shirley’s time, another change had taken place, which had placed *Debal* on the same side as *Thathah*. It is in Lat. 24° 50’ in that map.

It is said, that when our embassy was sent to *Sind* in 1809, the Shrine of *Pír Patho* was visited by a party



Ab-i-Sind—for that was not included among the seven rivers, or “Sapta Sindhún”<sup>316</sup>—to the west bank of the Saraswatí.

who sailed thither from Thaṭṭah down the Bhágar branch of the river. When Pottinger was in Sind along with that Embassy, the Bhágar branch is said to have been “the chief outlet of the water of the Panjaub and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth.”

In the year 578 H. (1182–83 A. D.), Debal—or Dibal, as its name is written in the Musalmán histories—was taken possession of, together with its territory lying along the sea-coast, by Sultán Mu’izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Táǰzík Sultán of Ghaznín, the same who established the Muḥammadan rule over Dihlí, the “Shabudin,” and “Shahab-ood-Deen” of Dow and Briggs, and their copyists. Near Debal was Damṛílah, both of which places were taken possession of by Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, the Khwárazm Sháh, when he came into Lower Sind in 621 H. (1224 A. D.). Having gained possession of Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, he marched from thence to Debal; and its ruler, named Chanísar, whose Musalmán title was Sinán-ud-Dín, of the Sumrah tribe, and who was ruler of Lár, or the Debal territory (and subject to Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah of Multán and Uḥḥ, which included all Sind), who is called a Ḥabash in the Tabakát-i-Náṣirí (page 294, which see, also note), fled by sea and escaped. The Sultán from thence detached a force against Nahar-Wálah, which returned with immense booty. He then founded a Jámi’ Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple, the same, in all probability, which was demolished when the ‘Arabs captured the place, and from which it took its name.

At the period in question Thaṭṭah was not in existence, neither was it when Ibn Baṭúṭah was at Láhrí Bandar in 734 H. (1333–34 A. D.). The ruins noticed by him I believe to be those of Damṛílah. See note 173, page 224, and note 195, page 255.

There is a deal in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 374, respecting Debal which he “identified” as Karáchí, and Manorah as the site of its idol temple, but, as he also “identified” Manṣúriyah and Bahman-ábád as Ḥaidar-ábád, we may be permitted to ignore its correctness. No allowance whatever is made by writers of the present day for the changes which are hourly taking place in the course of the Indus and its tributaries, and in the formation of its deltas, some of which changes, in rather less than three centuries, I have shown from the extracts previously given.

The author of the well known and valuable history, the Jahán-Árá, Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, the Kazwíní, died at Debal in 975 H. (1567 A. D.), on his way to Hindústán from Írán.

In the reign of Báǰí Muḥammad Khán of Balkh, about 1006 H., an Uzbak noble of high rank, Manṣúr, the Dád-Khwá, set out on the pilgrimage to Makkah

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<sup>316</sup> Dr. Muir, in his “Sanskrit Texts” says, that Prof. Max Müller states (“Chaps.” 1–63), that the seven rivers are “the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjáb, and the Saraswatí.” This is a mistake; and the Indus appears to have been adopted because he left out the *Ghag-ghar*, which flows between the Sutlaj and the Saraswatí, but which river, although its ancient name of Dṛishádwatí is given by both the writers named, they do not appear to have been acquainted with its more modern name. It is never once mentioned by that name in Dr. Muir’s work.



The following description of the Wihat, or Bihat, is from the Survey record previously quoted.

by the Dasht-i-Kibchák, Ming-Kishlák, the Caspian, the Shirwánát, Gurjistán, and Kurdistán, to Istámbúl. From thence he proceeded through Rúm, Shám and Miṣr, and from thence to Makkah. Having performed the *hajj*, he returned by sea to the port of Debal, passed through Sind and Multán to Lahor, and from there returned to Balkh.

Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Ṭhaṭṭah, nor “Bambura,” nor Láhrí Bandar, nor Karáchí, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arab conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, when it was.

For about one hundred and thirty years after the time Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, subdued Sind in 93 H. (711–12 A. D.), it was held by the Ṭammímí 'Arabs, who acknowledged the 'Abbásí Khalífahs as their sovereigns. In 186 H. (803 A.D.), when Hárún-ar-Rashíd assigned the eastern half of the Khiláfat to his son, Muḥammad-al-Mámún, among the territories named is “the territory on the Ab-i-Sind” or Indus, “including a part of Hind,” referring, of course, to Sind and its dependencies, and Multán.

In 205 H. (820–21 A. D.), the same in which Ṭábir-i-Zú-l-Yamanain received the investiture of Khurásán and its dependent territories from the Khalífah, Al-Mámún, and to which Sind and Multán also appertained, the Wálí of Sind, Dá'úd, son of Yazíd, having died, it was conferred upon Bashar, son of the deceased Dá'úd (Thomas says the coins of the rulers of Manṣúryah bear the words “*Bano Dá'úd*,” which he supposed, but erroneously, might refer to the modern Dá'úd-putrahs, but this family was referred to. It will be noticed that Dá'úd is a favourite name among the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán), under the stipulation that he should yearly pay 100,000 *dirams* to the Dár-ul-Khiláfat. Subsequently, the Khalífahs, losing power, were obliged to commit distant provinces into the hands of feudatories more powerful than themselves; and in 257 H. (871 A. D.), Ya'qúb, son of Laiṣ, the Ṣuffarí, among other parts, held Sind, the local Wálís being subordinate to him. In 258 H. (872 A. D.), the Wálí of the territory of Sind, Muḥammad, son of Sabhún died; and in 261 H. (874–75 A. D.), the then Khalífah, Al-Mu'tamid B'illah, gave his brother, Abí Alḥmad, the title of Muwaffiḳ B'illah, and assigned him the government of the whole east, including Sind. In 265 H. (878–79 A. D.), however, the Khalífah, in order to divert 'Umaro, son of Laiṣ, who succeeded his brother, Ya'qúb, in that year, from invading 'Irák, conferred upon him Khurásán, Fárs, Kirmán, Mukrán, and Sind, as well as Sigiz-stán, which he previously held. It was about this time that the Sumrahs broke out, and acquired some power in Lár or Lower Sind, and, no doubt, acknowledged the supremacy of the 'Abbásí Khalífahs and their feudatories. They succeeded in holding power in that part for about one hundred and seventy-eight years, which would bring us to 443 H. (1051–52 A. D.).

Sind, and also Multán, had continued, nominally at least, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Baní 'Abbás and their feudatories for the time being, until the time of Sultán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, who ousted the officials of the 'Abbásís, and annexed it; and the Sumrahs of Lár had to succumb. At this period, the Sumrahs, who appear to have embraced Muḥammadanism, outwardly at least, had become Ḳarámiṭah, as were the rulers of Multán, and many of their people. This heresy seems to have obtained firm root in these parts, which may partly be accounted for from their communications by sea with Egypt, 'Arabia, and Persia, where it flourish-



“ This large river issues from the *kohistán* east and south of Kashmír, flows through its capital, and after passing under Muzaffar-ábád is

ed, and from refugees from those parts finding it convenient to come by sea into Sind for shelter. Schism had been early sown in Sind, as may be seen from note 199, page 257. Amír Naşir-ud-Dín-i-Sabuk-Tigín tried to put it down in *Khurásán*, and his son and successor, Sultán Maḥmúd, sought to root it out in Multán and Sind, as well as in Zábul-istán. He first moved against the Bhátiah of *Uchchh* in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), as related in note 192, page 244. In the year following, 397 H. (1006–7 A. D.), he determined to attack Multán, because the Wálí thereof, Abú-l-Fath-i-Dá'úd, son of Naşr, who hitherto had been subject to the 'Abbásís, began to assume independence, and read the *Khuṭbah* for himself, besides being guilty of other misdeeds, and making his stronghold the hotbed of heresy in that quarter. The 'Abbásí *Khálifah* had assigned all his claims on Sind and Multán—the Musalmán dominions east of, and on the Áb-i-Sind or Indus—to Sultán Maḥmúd, and he determined to enforce them.

This was the period that Anand-Pál, son of Jai-Pál, refused the Sultán a passage through his territory on his way to Multán, and was well punished for his hostility. Abú-l-Fath-i-Dá'úd, becoming aware of Anand-Pál's overthrow, speedily collected his treasures and other movables, loaded them on elephants (some say camels), and sent them off to Saran-Díp [*Kachchh* Bhuj], and abandoned Multán. The Sultán on reaching that part, becoming aware of the misdeeds of Dá'úd, devastated his territory, but those of his supporters who remained, having agreed to pay the yearly sum of 20,000 *dirams* as a capitation tax, treating them as infidels, he accepted it, because the Í-lak *Khán* was threatening his northern frontier on the Oxus, and his presence there was urgently required.

When he retired, Dá'úd again appeared, and the *jazíah* tax remained unpaid. In 401 H. (1010–11 A. D.), having disposed of his other affairs, the Sultán determined to finish the affair of Multán and the *Ḳarámīṭah*—or *Mulḥáidah*, as they are also styled, the word applied to the heretics in general—and annex the territory. Multán was captured, the greater number of the *Ḳarámīṭah* taken, of whom some were put to death, some deprived of a hand, and the rest sent to fortresses to be there imprisoned for lifetime, thus making an exemplary example of the heretics. As Multán and its territory was never “ruled by a Sumra dynasty,” as asserted in Gazetteer history, no “idol of the Sun was again set up, under the Sumra dynasty.”

I may add, that the *Mulḥáidah* of these parts and provinces adjacent, had rendered pilgrimages to Makkah impossible for some time past, infesting the routes, and completely closing them. Repeated complaints were made to the Sultán, and the matter became so serious, that, in 412 H. (1021–22 A. D.), Sultán Maḥmúd had to take efficient steps to remedy it.

The *Ḳarámīṭah* ruler of Multán, above referred to as overthrown by Sultán Maḥmúd, is the same who has been mistaken by *Firishtah*, and other modern compilers of his class, for an *Afghán* of the *Lodí* tribe (in order to make up the “*Pathán Dynasties*” perhaps), under the name of “Abu-l-Fath Dá'úd, grandson of Shaikh Hamíd *Lodí*.” There were no *Lodís*, nor *Lodí* rulers, there at the time, nor for centuries after. The rulers of Multán were *Ḳuresh* of the *Baní 'Uşmán*, descendants of Sám, son of *Lawí*—*لوي*—mistaken for *Lodí*—*لودي*), and were still ruling there when the Sultán marched against it. See pages 189-190. An exhortation was addressed by



joined by the "Nad," or "River," coming from Little, or the Lesser, Tibbat. Subsequently it is joined by the Kishan-Gangá, and after leaving

the Muktanah, Bahá-ud-Dín, the chief *da'í*, or apostle, of Hamzah, one of the leading personages of the sect, at the commencement of the reign of the Sultán's successor, Sultán Mas'úd, in 423 H. (1032 A. D.), to the *Ḳarámīṭah* of Multán and Sind and Hind, and particularly to a Sumrah, the chief of the tribe probably, whom he addresses as "The *Shaiḵh*, the son of Súmar [*Súmrah*, as the word is also written] Rájah Pál," calling upon him, as though he, too, had been a *da'í*, to accomplish the mission wherewith he was charged, of bringing back backsliders to the *Ḳarámīṭah* heresy, and particularly, Dá'úd, son of Abú-l-Faṭḥ-i-Dá'úd, the heretic ruler of Multán, who had fled from thence, and whose son, Dá'úd, here referred to, had been thrown into prison by Sultán Maḥmúd, and had been set at liberty by Sultán Mas'úd, on his recanting his heresy apparently.

The Sumrahs paid obedience to the sovereigns of *Ghaznín*, nominally at least, until the reign of the amiable, but weak, Sultán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the affairs of whose kingdom were in great disorder; and, in 443 H. (1051-52 A. D.), taking advantage of the state of affairs, the Sumrahs assembled in the *Thar* or *Thal*, the sandy tract between Sind and *Kachchh*, and set up a Sumrah to rule over them independently. His name is not given by the Sindí writers, and it is probable that he was no other than this same Rájah (or rather, Ráná; for that, and also Rá'í, were the Hindú titles by which the local chiefs were known) Pál. But whoever he may have been, he is said to have ruled several years, and to have left a son, Bhúngar by name, who, after reigning for a period of fifteen years, died in 461 H. (1068-69 A. D.), in the tenth year of Sultán Ibráhím of *Ghaznín*. Eighteen others of this race are said to have followed in succession.

After the fall of the Turk dynasty of *Ghaznín*, the *Shansabání Táǵzík Ghúris* held Sind and Multán, the former territory nominally perhaps to some degree, from 578 H. (1182-83 A. D.), when Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám marched against Debal, and possessed himself of all the territory on the sea-coast. See paragraph 15 of this note 315. After his assassination in 602 H. (1205-6 A. D.) by the disciples of the *Muláhidah*, a name applied, as well as *Bátaniáh*, to the *Ḳarámīṭah*, and who may have been, as stated, of the *Khokhar* tribe of *Jaṭs* nevertheless, since the Sumrahs were *Ḳarámīṭah* (See *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*," page 485, and note 3), his feudatory of Multán, and *Uchchh*, the then capital of all Sind, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, *Ḳabá-jah*, one of the Sultán's four favourite *Mamlúks*, and a Turk, following the example of Malik Táǵ-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, and Malik *Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín*, I-bak, the other Turk feudatories of *Ghaznín* and *Dihlí* (Bahá-ud-Dín, *Tughril*, the fourth of the favourite *Mamlúks*, had been dead some time), declared himself independent, and assumed the title of Sultán. At this period there were seven petty Ránás in Sind subject to his suzerainty, one of whom was Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of *Karíjah Sammah* Lohános, who dwelt at Túng in the Rúpah territory, and another, Sinán-ud-Dín, *Chanísar*, of Debal, who was the fourteenth of the *Sumrah* dynasty, and the same who fled, and escaped by sea, from Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, when he attacked Debal and *Damṛilah*, as mentioned in the paragraph above referred to.

In after years it is said, during the reign of 'Alá-ud-Dín, the *Khalj* Turk, Sultán of *Dihlí*, the people of Lár or Lower Sind, complained to him of the tyranny and oppression of their chief, Rá'í Dúdah, and that the Sultán, to whom they must have been,



the more hilly tracts, and reaching more open country, another considerable river from the direction of Púñch joins it. After this junction, and

from this, subject, despatched a body of troops against him, on which the Sumrahs fled from Sind into Kachchh, and sought the assistance of the Sammahs, who, through the same Dúdah's tyranny, had fled from Sind and found refuge and a home there, and had prospered greatly. They took up the cause of the Sumrahs, but the confederates were overthrown by the Sultán's troops; and the Sumrahs were so completely broken, that not one of their tribe was left powerful enough to rule in Lár or Lower Sind, the territory subsequently known as Thathah from its capital of that name. From this period Lár or Lower Sind, again became tributary to the Dihlí sovereigns.

The facts, however, which have been somewhat obscured and confused, are, that the Sumrah chief and ruler, Amar, turned into 'Umar by the Musalmán writers, and the same who gave name to Amar-Koṭ, son of Rá'í Dúdah above mentioned, was a great tyrant and oppressor. Among other bad acts, he carried off the wife of an 'Arab chief, 'Umar, the Tammímí, the same tribe which, in former times, had been all-powerful in Sind. 'Umar proceeded to the presence of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khaj Turk, Sultán of Dihlí, who summoned Amar, Sumrah, to appear before him. He, fearing the consequences if he did not go, went, and was cast into prison, where he languished for a considerable time; and he only regained his liberty through the intercession of powerful friends, and the payment of a heavy fine. This happened about 705 H. (1305-6 A. D.).

In the meantime, the Sammahs remaining in Sind had been prospering, and gaining influence and some power, and had got possession of most of the territory of Lár; but, when the feudatory of Multán and U'chchh, Ghází Malik, afterwards Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Tughluk Sháh, in the year 720 H. (1320 A. D.), marched to Dihlí to oust the Parwá'í usurper from the throne, Amar, Sumrah, seized the opportunity and repossessed himself of the territory of Lár, and died after a reign so called, including the time of his imprisonment, of thirty-five years. On this, another Sumrah, named Bhúngar, succeeded, who held possession for another ten years, when another, named Hamír (called Armíl and Abrá by some) succeeded him. Whether these were sons or brothers of Amar is not stated, but the final overthrow of the Sumrahs was close at hand.

During the captivity of Amar, Sumrah, a number of the Sammahs had returned from Kachchh and joined the others in Lár; and the tyranny and oppression of Hamír, Sumrah, becoming unbearable, the Sammahs set up a man, among those who had come back from Kachchh, named Unar, distinguished for his intelligence and exemplary conduct, who seized Hamír, the Sumrah, and put him to death. He received the title of Jám from his tribe, "which is a title of respectability among these people." This was in 738 H. (began 29th July, 1337 A. D.).

During the time the Sammahs had been subject to the Sumrahs, they had founded a town and a fort on the skirts of the Makkahlí hills, the first being named Sámú'í, also called Sá'í by some few writers, and the other Thákúr-ábád—the Chief's abode or place of residence, the foundations of which had been laid by their then Thákúr—for by this Hindú title, as well as Rá'í and Ráná, although converts to Islám, they appear at different times to have been styled—but it had been left unfinished, probably because the Sumrahs would not permit them to finish it. This they now completed, and also founded a number of other towns and villages. This



flowing between three and four *kuroh* farther southwards, it separates into two branches, which again unite lower down under the fort of

fort was subsequently called, or the name changed into, *Tughluk-ábád*, a Turkish, not a Sindí name; and the author of the *Tuḥfat-ul-Kiráam* states, that some of the “present defences and erections in the fort of *Tughluk-ábád*, better known as *Kalyán Kot*,” were the work of the Nawwáb, Muríd *Khán* [a Turk, or Mughal], who was the feudatory of the *Ṭhaṭṭah* province in 1099 H. (1688 A. D.), the thirty-second year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh. This place, miscalled “*Kalán Kot*” (or “Great Fort,” ‘*kalan*’ being the Persian for great) by Mr. A. W. Hughes, the compiler of the “*Gazetteer of Sind*,” founded by the *Ṭhákúr* above referred to, he “supposes to have been built about 1421 A. D., during the Samma dynasty,” in which supposition he is mistaken, “and is supposed to stand on the site of a still more ancient stronghold.” *Kalyán*, is a Sanskrit word, and *Kalyán Kot* signifies the Fort of Prosperity, Happiness, or Well-being. The place is now situated on the right bank of the *Bhágar* channel of the Indus, about three miles south of *Ṭhaṭṭah*, where the ruins may still be seen.

Although the Sammahs rose against the Sumrahs in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.), and they finally fell four years after, still the Sammahs are not accounted among independent rulers of Lower Sind until 743 H. (1342-43 A. D.); and the question naturally arises why it was so. We have merely to turn to the events of the reign of Sultán Muḥammad, *Tughluk Sháh*, for a reply. His empire was, for the greater part of his reign, in a state of chronic rebellion and disorder; and as quickly as he moved in one direction to put down an outbreak, another broke out in a contrary direction. This was the half-mad Sultán who endeavoured to depopulate Dihlí, and to transfer the seat of government to *Díw-gír* (*vul.* “Deogir”) or *Daulat-ábád* in the Dakhan; who proposed to conquer China, when he could not take care of, and hold his own territory; who would confer distant countries and kingdoms, which he did not possess, on his favourites; and who endeavoured to substitute a paper currency instead of gold and silver. It was at this period, when the Dihí empire was in such a state of hopeless disorder, that the Sammahs became independent like other petty feudatories in the empire; but the traitor, Malik *Ṭaghí*, the *mamlúk* of one of his principal Amírs, being harboured by the Sammahs, brought Sultán Muḥammad, *Tughluk Sháh*, against them, to die, in the first month of 752 H. (1351 A. D.), in the neighbourhood of *Ṭhaṭṭah* recently founded, and, subsequently, caused his successor, Sultán Fírúz *Sháh*, to march against it, and to carry off their Jám and his son captives to Dihlí.

The first of the independent Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, *Unar*, son of *Dísar*, descended from *Jám Júnán*, son of *Lákhah*, son of *Káhah*, who died after ruling for a period of three years and a half, was succeeded by his brother, *Júnán*, who ruled thirteen years, but some say fourteen. This brings us, for no dates are given, to the year 750 H. (1349-50 A. D.). He was succeeded by his nephew, the son of *Jám Unar*, with respect to whose name the greatest confusion and discrepancy exists among the native writers generally, but I think I am able to clear up the matter.

I may mention, however, before doing so, that the Moorish traveller, Muḥammad, son of *Baṭúṭah*, came into Sind early in 734 H., and that he visited *Síw-istán*, subsequently called *Sihwán*, *Láhrí Bandar*, *Bakhar*, and *Uchchh*, but he never refers to the Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, for a good reason, that this was the very year in which the Sammahs rose against the Sumrahs. This also may be the reason







is its proper name. In the Kash-mírí language the river is known as *Bedastá* (بيدستا); and as in the Panj-áb territory 'w' (و) is used for

is reinstated in the government of *Ṭhaṭṭah* and its territory, where he reigns in peace for fifteen years more. The writer gives not a single date until he comes to the thirteenth of the *Jáms* in 858 H. (1454 A. D.)

Now if we turn to his account of the reigns of the *Dihlí* sovereigns, which he gives in much greater detail in another part of his work, we shall not find a word respecting the *Jáms* in 'Alá-ud-Dín's reign, but there is in the account of *Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh's*, and in *Sulṭán Fírúz's*, in the notice of which latter reign he states, that it was against *Jám Khair-ud-Dín* that that *Sulṭán* came, and that he and his family were carried off to *Dihlí* where he died, and that the *Sulṭán* sent his son *Chúnah* (Júnán?) back to rule in *Ṭhaṭṭah*; but no such name as that of the son is to be found in his account of the *Jáms*. There, he says, that *Jám Baniya* (بانية) was released by *Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh*, who sent him back to *Sind*, and that his brother, *Jám Tamachí*, succeeded him.

Thus it will be seen, that *Mír Ma'súm* makes one and the same *Khair-ud-Dín* and his father, *Tamachí*, to be carried into captivity both by *Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín*, and by *Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh*, between the death of the first of which, and the latter's reduction of *Ṭhaṭṭah*, is a period of fifty-six years! In another part of his work he also says, that *Jám Baniya*, son of *Khair-ud-Dín*, was carried off by *Fírúz Sháh*, and that his brother, *Tamachí*, was sent back. He has made one *Jám Tamachí* into two persons, and "made confusion worse confounded."

One of the greatest errors, probably, in the history of *Sind*, and respecting the foundation of *Ṭhaṭṭah*, although no date for the latter is given, is contained in the extract from the *Tárikh-i-Ṭáhirí* contained in *Elliot*, Vol. 1, pp. 273-75. It is, that *Jám Nanda* founded *Ṭhaṭṭah*; and immediately after says he was living in 912 H. (1506-7 A. D.), and that he reigned *seventy-three* years. On the other hand, *Mír Ma'súm* says, that he came to the *Masnā* in 866 H. (1461-62 A. D.) in one *MS.*, and in another, in 896 H. (1490-91 A. D.), and reigned *forty-eight* years. If we take the first date as correct, it brings us to 914 H. (1508-9 A. D.). Thus, according to the *Tárikh-i-Ṭáhirí*, as in the extract noticed, *Ṭhaṭṭah* was only founded a few years before *Sháh Beg Khán's* first invasion of *Sind*, and fifteen before the final downfall of the *Jáms*; but we know it was invested in 752 H., and surrendered to *Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh* in 773 H. The *Tárikh-i-Ṭáhirí* has confounded *Júnán*, probably, with *Nandah*, between whom is a period of nearly two centuries intervening, the first mentioned being the second of the *Jáms*, and *Nandah* the fifteenth.

*Mírzá 'Ísá*, the *Tar-khán Mughal* (for the origin of which term see my "*Ṭabaqāt-Nāṣirí*," page 942), who succeeded *Mírzá Sháh Husain*, the *Arghún Mughal*, in *Sind*, became involved in hostilities with *Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán*, the feudatory of the *Bakhar* province, in 962 H. (1554-55 A. D.). In the fourth month of 963 H. (March, 1556 A. D.), *Mírzá 'Ísá* appeared before *Bakhar*; and, during his absence from *Ṭhaṭṭah*, a body of *Farangís* (Portuguese), whom he had sent for from *Gowah* (*vul.* "Goa") to assist him, reached it. On a Friday, when the people of *Ṭhaṭṭah* were all assembled in the *Jámi' Masjid*, the *Farangís* entered the city, surrounded the *Masjid*, and set fire to the city on all sides. They then sacked it, slaying a great number of the inhabitants, and making many captive, besides which, a great number were burnt to death. Before they retired, having poured a *dárú* (com-



and interchangeable with 'b' (ب), the people of that part call it Wihat and Bihat.

“From under the fort of Jihlam the Bihat passes below Jalál-púr-i-Garchák, and by Bahrah (then close to its bank) and Khúsh-áb, and within a short distance of the *karyah* of Chhautarah (چھوترہ) unites with the Chin-áb, and loses its own name.”

In the lower part of the Chin-hath *Do-ábah*, or delta, between the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb, there is an extensive tract of table land, or plateau, sloping gradually upwards on either side, at a distance of about three or four miles, or more in some places, from the rivers' banks, and beginning with a low, abrupt ridge, which separates the good lands lying along the banks from the waste in question. It extends from near Nún-Miání on the north, in the Sháh-púr district, down towards the junction of the Bihat and Chin-áb. In about the centre of this plateau there is a range of rugged hills, running in parallel ridges across the *Do-ábah*. They extend from east to west about twenty-one miles, and from north to south about ten or twelve. Some of their offshoots extend across the Chin-áb, which cuts its way through them, east of the town of Chandaní-oṭ, or Chandan-oṭ (*vul.* “Chuneeot”), part of which stands on them; and some of their minor offshoots, or waves, extend for some twenty miles or more into the Rachin-áb *Do-ábah*, as far as the Sanggalá Tall, or Tallah. They are known as the Kiránah range, and this elevated tract or plateau is named the Kiránah *Bár* or waste after them.

All along the west bank of the Bihat, which river contains a much lesser volume of water than the Chin-áb, there is a belt or strip of alluvium, as its Hindí name of *kachchhí* implies, the same word as noticed in note 349, at page 348, and applied in the same way. It extends westwards from the river bank from half a mile to four and five, and, in some few places, as much as ten miles, but the average

bustible—naphthah or petroleum probably) upon the waters, they set it on fire, dropped down the channel, and departed.

As to the origin of the name Thathah—**تھتھہ**—Cunningham states, at page 288 of his “Ancient Geography of India,” that *thaththa* means a ‘shore,’ a ‘bank,’ so that Nagar Thatha would mean the city on the bank.”

Thaṭ—**تھت**—Sanskrit **तट**, signifies ‘a bank,’ ‘a shore,’ and **तह**, which is written like the name of the place, and the other mode of writing it—**तह** in Hindí, signifies ‘sport,’ ‘fun,’ etc. The probability is that the name of the place does not refer to either of the significations mentioned above. There are scores of villages in the Panj-áb with the prefix *thathí* to their names, and the city in question, was not at all times on either ‘a bank’ or ‘shore.’ Thath—**تھتھہ**—in Hindí, signifying ‘a crowd,’ ‘throng,’ ‘assemblage,’ is the more likely origin of the name of this place



breadth, roughly speaking, is from three to five, as far as the abrupt edge or steep bank of the *Thal*, another elevated desert tract, referred to with respect to the course of the *Ab-i-Sind* or *Indus*, in the *Muzaffar Garh* district, and its junction with the *Chin-áb* and tributaries. The *Bihat*, here and there, approaches close to this *Thal*, in part of the *Sháh-púr* district, and also in the upper part of the district of *Jhang-i-Síálán*, where it may be said to be wearing the bank of the *Thal* away; but, more towards the south, the *kachchhi* widens considerably, and, consequently, there is a greater distance between the river and the *Thal*.

Very little change, comparatively, appears to have taken place in the course of the *Bihat*, except towards its place of junction with the *Chin-áb*, which has changed often, and considerably. In former times it ran farther east, and passed nearer to *Jhang-i-Síálán* than at present. *Abú-l-Fazl* says, “the *Bihat* or *Wihat* unites with the *Chin-áb* near the *pargana'h* of *Shor*,” that is to say, the *pargana'h* of which *Shor* or *Shor Kot* is the chief place. At the present time the junction takes place twenty-six miles north of *Shor Kot*, and eight miles above the place of junction at the time of the Survey I am quoting. *Abú-l-Fazl* refers to the time when the *Chin-áb* flowed some three miles and a half east of that town, where the old channel is still very distinct, and the *Bihat* flowed past it about the same distance on the west. At that time the junction took place about three miles, or thereabouts, south-south-west of *Shor Kot*, but the *Chin-áb* having subsequently changed its course very considerably, ran into the bed of the *Bihat*, thirty-one miles farther north.

The *Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh*, written in the reign of *Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gír Bádsháh*, by an official of the *Mughal* empire, before alluded to, states, that the *Chin-áb*, at that period, united with the *Jihlam*, or *Bihat*, at, that is to say near to, *Jhang-i-Síálán*, which now is some thirteen miles above the junction, and the *Bihat* does not now approach within twenty-six or twenty-seven miles of it on the west.

At the time of the Survey from which I have been quoting, the route from *Jhang-i-Síálán* towards the *Dera'h* of *Ismá'il Khán* will show some of the changes which have taken place in the course of both the *Wihat* and the *Chin-áb* within rather less than a century. It states, that “In going from *Jhang-i-Síálán*<sup>317</sup> you have to proceed nearly three *kuroh* west, and cross the *Chin-áb* by boat. This ferry is called the *Paṭan* of *Jhang-i-Síálán*; and from thence you go two *kuroh* more to *Massan*, a large *karyah* of the *Síál* tribe, on the bank of the river. From thence going six *kuroh* more in the direction of south-south-west you

<sup>317</sup> That is to say, *Jhang* of the *Síáls*, or of the *Síál* tribe, but now, from carelessness or constant use, generally called, in conversation, *Jhang-i-Síál*.



reach the banks of the Wihat, and cross into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by boat. This ferry is known as the Chhautarah Paṭan, and the large *karyah* of Chhautarah is close by the banks on the west side. From this last named place you proceed, through a very sandy tract, six *kuroh* south-west to U'chchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort," etc., etc.

At the present time, Massan, turned into "Mussun" in our maps, is nearly four miles from the Chin-áb, and nearly five east of the Wihat. There is still a very small village known as Chhautarah, but apparently not that referred to here,<sup>318</sup> which has probably disappeared, close to the west bank, and two miles and a half above the junction of the two rivers, just below which is the ferry now known as Trimún Paṭan. Among the *belahs* or islands in the bed of the Wihat, north of the present Chhautarah, there is one a mile and a quarter in length and nearly as broad, called the *Belah* of Chhautarah, showing where the large *karyah* so called once flourished.

In the route leading westwards towards the Dera'h of Ghází Khán still greater changes are to be found. The Survey account says: "In going from Jhang-i Síalán thither by way of the Hawelí of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí<sup>319</sup> [which is about mid-way between Jhang and Shor Kot] you leave the aforementioned Hawelí, and having proceeded one *kuroh* west, reach a large *nálah* [*vul.* "nulla"]—a small river, a branch of, or coming from, the Chin-áb, which, flowing between two and three *kuroh* towards the left hand (south), again unites with it. Except in the rainy season it is fordable knee-deep. From it you go half a *kuroh* west, and reach the Chin-áb and Wihat, which flow in one channel, and here it is near upon two *kuroh* in breadth. You have to cross by boat. The place of junction of the two rivers, which is called by the name of Trimún, is about three *kuroh* higher up on the right hand (north).<sup>320</sup>

"On the other side of the aforementioned river [the two united] there is also another *nálah* or channel of great size, which comes from the right hand from the river Wihat, and at the *paṭan* or ferry unites with the Chin-áb. This *guzr* or ferry, on the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah side, is called the Paṭan of 'Alí Kahanná (علي كهنا), and, on the Rachin-áo Do-ábah side, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí. 'Alí Kahanná is the name of a branch of the Síal tribe, who number between three and four thousand families.

<sup>318</sup> It has probably taken the name of the former village of that name. See the large scale Revenue Survey map.

<sup>319</sup> See note 325, page 335.

<sup>320</sup> The point of junction a short time since was eight miles above 'Alí Kahanná, or two miles higher up than at the period in question, and nearly nine miles below Massan. See also page 335.

“After having crossed the united Chin-áb and Wihat, half a *kuroh* farther west is another large *náláh*, as large as a quarter or more of the channel of the Wihat. It comes from the river from the right hand (north), runs towards the left (south), and abreast of Koṭ Mapál unites with the Chin-áb. Between this great *náláh* and the Chin-áb is a large extent of land some three *kuroh* in breadth; and its inhabitants are Balúchís of the Almání branch, who pay allegiance to Kabír Khán, Síál, the ruler of Jhang-i-Síálán, one of the two chiefs of that great tribe. The chief village of these Almánís is called Almání after them. As the large *náláh* above referred to is very tortuous, it is known by the name of Uṣṭh (اُوپْتَه).<sup>321</sup>

“Having passed this *náláh*, and proceeding half a *kuroh* more to the westward, you reach 'Alí Kahanná, the name by which several small *karyahs* of the Síáls of the branch known by that name are called. From thence you go one *kuroh* south to Mírán de Bohar, the name of a very large and ancient *bohar* tree,<sup>322</sup> beneath which are the graves of several people of the Musalmán faith. From thence the route leads one *kuroh* south-west to Murád dá Koṭ, a village belonging to the Salbání branch of the Síál tribe. East and south of this *karyah* or village, and of the aforesaid *bohar*, there is a channel of great depth, which, running to the left hand (south-south-westwards), unites with the Chin-áb. It is stated that this is an ancient channel of the Wihat; and save in the rainy season,<sup>323</sup> it is fordable in some places, but at other times, you have to cross it over bridges. One *kuroh*

<sup>321</sup> The *bar*—*Ficus Indica*.

See note 360, page 362, where we are told in the account of the movements of Alexander the Great, that it is said, that “a great *banyan* tree existed near the confluence of the Hydraotes [Ráwí] with the Acesines [Chin-áb],” and that it “would be worth while to ascertain whether there be one [after two thousand two hundred years and more!], of great size and apparent antiquity.” Here is one; but there used to be another near the ferry of Fázil Sháh, at the place where the two rivers united about half a century or more since, but which is now nearly four miles from the junction, and stood between the two rivers at the *takiyah* of a Faḳír. It was famous for its great age, but not quite twenty-two centuries perhaps, and possessed very large trunks from one root, and hence it was known to the people of that part, by the name of “Aṭh Múndí,” or the “Eight Pillars.”

<sup>322</sup> The “*Nulla Phant*” of the latest maps, probably, or what at present remains of it.

<sup>323</sup> The writer does not mean to say that there is a rainy season here, unless the seasons have changed since, but merely refers to the period of the rains farther eastwards within the influence of the monsoon. In the Panj-áb, the hot season is the time when the rivers are in flood or inundated, at which period in the parts farther east, the rainy season prevails.



south from Murád dá Koṭ is Rustam dá Koṭ; and passing it, and going another *kuroh* in the same direction you reach Islám-púr. Another two *kuroh* from thence to the south is Kokárí, a large *karyah* of Sayyids and there is the Mázár (Tomb and Shrine), of Ḥazrat, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jaháníán, who is known by the name of Munnawir-i-Jhang<sup>324</sup> and the Ūpuṭh *nálah*, before mentioned, lies near by on the left hand (south)."

Now let us see how matters stand at present. No great *nálah* now exists one *kuroh* west of the *Hawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, and the *Chin-áb* is but two miles and three quarters, equal to about a *kuroh* and a half, from that place on the west; but, in the bed of the river are several large *belahs* or islands, the river bed is about a mile and a half in breadth, and the river flows in two branches. The place of junction of the *Wihat* and *Chin-áb*, at present—that is according to the latest survey, but it may have altered, or may have been altering, very considerably this present hot season—which was known as Trimún, is now nine miles to the north, or more than five *kuroh* instead of three *kuroh*, as it was when the Survey above quoted was made, and a little to the north of what is still known by the old name of Trimún Paṭan. The ferry which, on one side, was called the 'Alí Kahanná Paṭan, and, on the other, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, does not now exist at the point indicated, but there is another, about three miles and a quarter north-west of the *Hawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí (called "Hawelí Bahádur Sháh Ferry," and "Haweli Ferry" in the maps<sup>325</sup>) and more than three miles and a half north of 'Alí Kahanná, the name of which still remains in the name of a small village a little over four miles due west of the *Hawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, and little more than half a mile from the west bank of the *Chin-áb*.<sup>326</sup> There is also another still smaller village, on the west side of a considerable *belah* or island nearly three miles in length and half that in breadth, and a mile and three quarters south-east of the other 'Alí Kahanná. According to the

<sup>324</sup> Munnawir, the act. part. of the 'Arabic verb II. of نور 'that which illumines or enlightens'—'the illuminer' or 'enlightener,' 'luminary,' etc.

<sup>325</sup> This place appears in the Indian Atlas and other maps under the strange name of "Huwali," and the ferry the "Haweli Ferry," such is the careless manner in which names are entered.

<sup>326</sup> It was so when the Indian Atlas map of this part was made, but since then further changes have taken place; and according to the large scale map of the Panj-áb Revenue Survey, this place, when the survey for the map was made, instead of being about half a mile distant *west* from the right or west bank, is now on the *east* side of a great *belah* or island in the middle of the river, and on the western-most of the two branches into which this *belah* separates it. We may assume, therefore, that these rivers are no more subject to changes now than they were twenty-three centuries since.

incorrect mode of writing names of places adopted in our best maps, through the surveyors, generally, being only acquainted with the vernacular colloquially, and inserting the names from ear, this name appears as “*Uleekhunanuh*”; and while in the Revenue Survey map of the *Jhung* (instead of *Jhang*) District, the *Hawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, *Ḳureshí*, appears as “*Huwali*” only; in the map of the Multán Division it actually appears as “*Huwah*”; while on the opposite side of the *Chin-áb*, we find the same word written “*Huvelee*”! The word, of course, is the 'Arabic حويلي in common use, and signifying, ‘a house,’ ‘a dwelling,’ ‘mansion,’ ‘the court-house of a district, public offices,’<sup>327</sup> and the like, but, in these instances, referring to the dwelling-place or shrine of a Muhammadan saint.

There is no large *nálah* now from the Bihat on the west bank of the river uniting with the *Chin-áb* abreast of *Koṭ Mahpál*; and the former river is, at present, nine miles farther north than the point indicated. *Murád de Bohar*, the very large and ancient tree, with the old graves beneath it, have now disappeared, unless “*Huvelee Mohu*” of one map, and “*Huvelee Mohungir*”—both referring to the same place—be meant for it; and of the ancient channel of the Bihat near this venerable tree, and the village of *Murád dá Koṭ*, no trace at present remains, because the *Chin-áb* since that time has taken to it.<sup>328</sup>

This river, the Bihat or Wihat, is called the *Jamd* and *Dandánah* in the histories of Amír Tímúr's campaign.

#### THE *CHIN-ÁB* OR *CHANDAR-BHÁGÁ*.

The tract of country lying between the *Chin-áb* and the *Ráwí*, constituting the *Rachin-áo* or *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*, especially that portion of it extending from the southern part of the *Gujarán-Wálah* district, and below that again to the south and south-west, belonging to the two districts of *Jhang-i-Síalán* and *Ghugherah*, now called *Montgomery*, and forming the lower or south-western part of the *Rachin-áo Do-ábah*, is quite different from the other *Do-ábahs* except part of the *Chin-hath* already described, and the *Bárá Do-ábah* yet to be noticed. This part is so cut up with old channels of the *Chin-áb* and the *Ráwí*, that it requires special notice before attempting to describe the *Chin-áb* and its course. It contains three great tracts of waste land, consisting of three elevated plateaux, namely, the *Sándal Bár*, the *Gondal Bár*, and the *Ganjí Bár* (in part), besides a fourth, differing considerably from the others, called the *Bár-i-Chin-áb* or *Chin-áo Bár*, lying on either side of that river, as it flows at present.

<sup>327</sup> See note 223, page 265, and preceding note 325.

<sup>328</sup> See Abú-l-Fazl's notice of the rivers at page 294.



“The Sándal *Bár*, or central alluvial flat or plateau or elevated waste, lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, which stretches from north-east to south-west, is some forty *kuroh* in length, and about half that in breadth, embracing all the *jangal* waste from the cultivated belt along the east or left bank of the Chin-áb, to the cultivated belt along the west or right bank of the Ráwí included in the sub-district dependent on Faríd-ábád on that river.” Thus this *Bár* lies in the lower part of the Gujarán-Wálah district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, and the upper part of the Jhang-i-Síálán, and the upper western part of the Ghugherah or Montgomery districts. “On the east it adjoins the Ganjí *Bár*, and on the west, farther down, the Gondal *Bár*. The country rises gradually upwards from the banks of the Chin-áb towards the edge or ridge of the Sándal *Bár*, which having reached, the edge or ridge, in the upper part, in the Jhang district, rises somewhat abruptly for some feet, and continues to rise until the central or highest part is reached, which attains a height of between thirty and forty feet or more above the level of the plain below. At first the river runs nearly parallel to it in some places, but, farther south and west, the river flows farther away from it, and at last this *Bár* dies away towards the Gondal *Bár*. Water in the Sándal *Bár* is exceedingly scarce, and the inhabitants, who are of the Bhaṭí tribe, very scanty. In the upper part of this *Bár*, and within the Jhang district, are the ruins of three ancient cities, Sanggalá or Sanggalá *Tall*, *Tallah*, or *Tibbah*, Rasúl, and Asraur;<sup>329</sup> and offshoots from the Kiránah range of hills in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, on part of which the ancient town of Chandaní-oṭ,<sup>330</sup> also written Chandan-oṭ,

<sup>329</sup> It is strange that these ancient sites, Asraur and Rasúl, have not been “identified.”

<sup>330</sup> The correct name of this ancient town, about three quarters of a mile from the Chin-áb in the last century, is Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, and is derived, according to tradition, from Chandan, the name of the daughter of a petty chief of these parts, and to which is affixed the word *oṭ* (as in Muhammad-oṭ on the Hariári, turned into “Mumdot” in the maps) from the Sanskrit, which word signifies, ‘covering,’ ‘surrounding,’ ‘shelter,’ ‘cover,’ etc.

The famous Wazír of Aurang-zeb-i-’Álam-gír Bádsháh, Sa’d-ullah Khán, was a native of Chandan-oṭ, as was also another *mansab-dár* of that reign, Wazír Khán.

Khatrís of this part who turn Muhammadans are, in the idiom of the Panj-áb, styled Paránchahs and Kahochahs.

From constant use, apparently, the name Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, has been shortened into Chaní-oṭ.

The learned Editor of Elliot’s “Historians” (vol. iv, page 232), in the extract from the “Túzak-i-Bábari,” where Bábár Bádsháh says: “As I always had the conquest of Hindustán at heart, and as the conquest of Bahrah, Khusháb, Chináb, and Chaniút, among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Turks,” etc., the Editor has a foot-note to “Chaniút,” and after telling us that Bahrah at

stands, and through openings in which the Chin-áb at present cuts its way, extends as far as Sángalá, or at least, rocky waves of the same formation, rising to a height of some two hundred feet and more, on the part on which the remains of this old stronghold stands.

“The Rind Balúchís once held part of the Sandal Bár, and bred numerous herds of camels and other cattle, but they were subsequently driven out by the Bharwánah Síáls.

“The Gondal Bár, so called after a tribe of Jats of that name, but some account them Bhatís, extends from the termination of the Sándal Bár on the south-west, and runs in much the same direction between the Chin-áb on the one side, and to the Ráwí, close to Koṭ Kamáliáh, on the other.<sup>331</sup> It extends downwards towards Shor Koṭ and the lower part of the Do-ábah. It is about thirty *kuroh* in length from north-east to south-west, and about twenty in breadth.” When the Survey I have been quoting from was made, this Bár was a dense *jangal*, in which water was difficult to obtain, and the inhabitants few; but the remains of old wells, and the ruins of ancient buildings, show clearly that, in by-gone times, it must have been in a flourishing condition and well peopled.

“The Ganjí Bár is another elevated tract or plateau of waste-land, part of which lies between the old banks of the Ráwí and the Bíáh. Consequently, it is in both the Rachin-áb and Bárá Do-ábahs, and is about twenty *kuroh* in length from east to west, and nearly fifteen in breadth from north to south. It extends in one direction towards Búchíán Malhíán, to Yúni kí in another; and in another direction approaches near to Asraur, also called Saraur, and to Sháh-Zádah,<sup>332</sup> and in this tract Háfiz-ábád, Shaikho-púrah, and other towns are situated. It is called Ganjí on account of the denseness of the *jangal*, and close proximity of the trees to each other. The inhabitants belong to the Bhatí tribe. This Bár from its elevated position is the most sterile and arid of the whole of the Ghugherah district lying in the Rachin-áo Do-ábah.

present (sic) lies near Pind Dádan Khán, says: “No Chaniút can be found; perhaps it is Battiut, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing.” Wonderful geographical information this! See note 361, page 366, for one of the reasons mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

<sup>331</sup> In going from Koṭ Kamáliáh across to Jhang-i-Síálán, the Gondal Bár and the Sándal Bár have to be crossed.

<sup>332</sup> As another specimen of the incorrect manner in which names of places are inserted in our best maps, and become the “official form” of the names, and not the true one, this place appears in the India Atlas map as “Sujáduh.” Sháh-Zádah is an old place, and was in former times the principal town of the district. As it was the head-quarters of the tribe of Hinjaráún, it is also known as Sháh-Zádah-i-Hinjaráún, or Sháh-Zádah of the Hinjaráúns.



“The *Bár-i-Chin-áo* or *Chin-áb Bár* differs altogether from the others, and consists of that strip of sterile waste locally called *uṭhár* (اُتھار) *i. e.*, ‘highland’ or ‘upland,’ which separates the belt of land along the river’s bank subject to inundation, locally known as *heṭhár* (هیتھار) *i. e.*, ‘lowland’ or ‘at the foot of,’<sup>333</sup> and which *Chin-áb Bár* or *uṭhár* separates the *khádar* or *bet* or *sail-ábí* lands along the river from the high flats or plateaux of the other *Bárs*. This *Chin-áb Bár* extends from the territory of *Tárar* upwards, down to the junction of the *Chin-áb* with the *Áb-i-Sind* or *Indus*, a distance of over two hundred *kuroh*, with a breadth of from four to seven *kuroh* more or less, lying along both banks of the *Chin-áb*.

“In going from *Sháh-Zádah* to *Jalál-púr-i-Chaddharán* on the *Chin-áb*, two *kuroh* south from the banks of the river, and three *kuroh* after passing *Bangar*, the *Sándal Bár* terminates in that direction, and the *Ganji Bár* begins.”

These *bárs* differ from the tract on the *Sind-Ságar* side, locally known as the *Thal*, and the *Chúl-i-Jálalí* by historians,<sup>334</sup> in this respect, that it is covered with sand-hills, some of considerable elevation, and the *bárs* are not.

The boundaries of these elevated tracts or *bárs* are generally the banks of old channels of the rivers. Thus the *Sándal Bár* on two sides

Any one would imagine that in these days of “Imperial Gazetteers,” when every petty place almost has one all to itself, an effort would have been made to write the names correctly as they are written by the inhabitants, or, at least, have produced one uniform mode, but “red tape” appears to have prevented it. The upshot is, that in one Gazetteer the names are written one way, in another, in a different manner, and as to the maps, each map has a mode of its own, and different from the Gazetteers!

<sup>333</sup> Hindí اُتھار *uṭh*—‘high,’ ‘raised,’ ‘over-topping,’ etc., from which comes اُتھار—*uṭhár*—‘upland,’ and the like, and هیتھار—*heṭh*—‘low,’ ‘down,’ ‘nether,’ etc., from which is derived هیتھار—*heṭhár*—‘lowland,’ etc.

First comes the tract nearest the river banks, the ‘lowland’ or *heṭhár*, under the influence of the yearly inundations, after which there is a strip or belt irrigated by means of wells, beyond which again comes the upland or *uṭhár*, the *Chin-áb Bár* of the Survey record above quoted, the *bánjar* of other localities, and beyond which floods never rise, in which are depressions here and there, then sandy tracts with occasional sand hills, until the rise or ridge of the *bár* is reached. There being no rain except on rare occasions, and water for irrigation purposes distant, and no wells at all farther than the verge of the *bár*, the few villages hereabouts are badly off for that necessary element. At times, when rain does fall, the water pours down from the sides of the *Sándal Bár*, and this the people endeavour to utilize by conducting it into their lands.

<sup>334</sup> See my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” etc., page 333.

lies between the left bank of the Chin-áb and the right bank of the Ráwí in the upper part of the Jhang district, as does the Gondal Bár, which adjoins it lower down in the direction of Shor Kot, and terminates in that part of the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, in the neighbourhood and in the sub-district of that name, and which is locally known as the Wichánah. After the same manner, the Ganjí Bár is bounded by the old right bank of the Ráwí. The whole of the Jhang and Ghugherah districts, and part of the adjoining districts farther up stream, may be called a great alluvial plateau, the remains of which consist of the *Thal* in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and the Sándal, Kiránah, Gondal, and Ganjí Bárs on the opposite side, which are more or less elevated, and slope downwards to the alluvial tracts through which the rivers Wihat or Jihlam, Chin-áb, and Ráwí, and some minor tributaries dependent on rain, have cut their way in by-gone times, and, by their fluctuations, have separated it into *bárs*, as already described. From the ruins of old buildings and ancient wells, every here and there, there can be no doubt, but that, in former times, this great tract supported a numerous population, and was in a flourishing condition. I believe that the convulsion of the elements which brought about the great flood in these very parts, mentioned at page 392, completed the desolation which the Mughals, by their constant inroads commenced, from the time of the first invasion of these parts by those infidels, up to the time of the flood in question.

The Survey record which I have previously quoted says, respecting the Chin-áb and its course, that, “the Chin-áb, or sometimes Chín-áb, is so called because, in former times, most people considered that it came out of Chín [China].<sup>335</sup> This rapid and impetuous river is also called the Chandar and Chandar-Bhágá, and comes from the eastward. It is said to issue from the *kohistán* of Pádal, which is the frontier of the territory of Chín in that direction. Having passed the mountains of Wachhan, a dependency of Kash-mír, it flows three *kuroh* north of the town of Kisht-wár, and just thirteen *kuroh* east of that place unites with the Bhágá, which comes from the Lesser Tibbat, from the *kohistán* of Márún, between fifty and sixty *kuroh* north of Kisht-wár. After the junction, the united streams receive the name of Chandar-Bhágá.<sup>336</sup> In the winter season it is crossed by wooden bridges, but at the time of the melting of the snows, when it becomes flooded, these become destroyed, and the river is passed by means of several rope bridges at different places. On issuing from the hills

<sup>335</sup> It certainly comes from parts which were dependent on China.

<sup>336</sup> I have not considered it necessary to mention all the affluents this river receives during its course into the more level country.



near the *kaṣbah* of Akh-núr (اكهنور),<sup>337</sup> it separates into several branches; and, after reaching near to Bahlúl-púr, which is twelve *kuroh* south-west, these again unite. Then, passing by the ancient town of Súḍhará,<sup>338</sup> Wazír-ábád, Kádir-ábád,<sup>339</sup> and Chandaní-oṭ, it unites with the Wihat or Bihat at the place previously mentioned in the account of that river, and within twelve *kuroh*<sup>340</sup> of Jhang-i-Síálán. Between this place and Chandaní-oṭ its banks on either side are but thinly inhabited;<sup>341</sup> and they call that part, the *Bár-i-Chin-áo* or Chin-áb *Bár*. The water of this river is excellent, but, it is so deep, that it is nowhere fordable.

“North of Kisht-wár the course of this river is from east to west; but there it makes a sudden bend almost due south, and after flowing in that direction for some distance, as suddenly turns to the westwards, and subsequently south again to Akh-núr. From thence its course is about south-south-west, and this course it pursues for a considerable distance, and then inclines more towards the south-west. It so continues to run until its junction with the Wihat, when it resumes a south-south-westerly course again, and continues to flow in that direction until it unites with the Ráwí. After this it inclines a little more towards the south-west again, until abreast of Multán, when it resumes the previous direction,<sup>342</sup> which it follows until its junction with the *Áb-i-Sind* near Uchchh-i-Sharíf.”

“Although there are several *bárání* rivers [that is, dependent on rain], and some perennial streams in the eastern part of this, the Rachin-áb *Do-ábah*, the principal one is the *Deg*. This river comes from the vicinity of Sánbah, and issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake. It only obtains the name of *Deg* some three or four *kuroh* from its source, previous to which it is called the *Basanthar* [the “*Basantha*” of the maps]. The breadth of its bed is about half a *kuroh* on the average, but, save in time of rains, it is dry in most places. This is in a great measure caused by the cultivators throwing dams across it for irrigation

<sup>337</sup> The “*Aknur*” of the maps.

<sup>338</sup> Súḍhará is now three miles distant from the river, but the old channel passes close to it.

<sup>339</sup> “*Quadirabad*” of the maps.

<sup>340</sup> The place of junction now is about twelve miles, equal to rather less than seven *kuroh*, and two or three *kuroh* from the *kaṣbah* of Chhautarah. See pages 331 and 335.

<sup>341</sup> It is in a more flourishing condition now.

<sup>342</sup> The directions here mentioned are general, of course. Boileau, in his “*Personal Narrative*,” quoted farther on, says, that the three rivers, *Jihlam* or *Wihat*, Chin-áb, and *Ráwí*, after their junction, are known as the “*Trimab*” until they unite with the *Gháraḥ* near Uchchh.

purposes. It runs about parallel to the course of the Ráwí on the west side, at from four to seven and eight *kuroh* distant from it, and in the neighbourhood of Faríd-ábád [in the Ghugherah, now the Montgomery, district] unites with that river. The intermediate space, which is known as Deg Ráwí, is exceedingly fruitful.”<sup>343</sup>

Above the junction with the Wihat the banks of the Chin-áb are well defined, and during the annual inundations, except on extraordinary occasions, it does not overflow its banks; but, after the junction of the two rivers, the bed spreads out considerably, so much so, that, a little lower down, it forms several *belahs* or islands in the sub-district of Shor Kot, which extend as far down as the junction with the Ráwí and beyond.

From the junction of the Wihat and Chin-áb, locally called the *Do-mel*,<sup>344</sup> the *Thal*, which formed the boundary of the *kachchhí* or *heṭhár* on the Sind-Sagár side, recedes for many miles to the westward; and immediately south of Shor Kot the country appears to sink, or, in other words, to become much depressed. Sand-hills begin to cover it every here and there on either side, but especially on the side of Shor Kot; and there being no high land to impede or keep back the waters in the time of periodical inundations—for the Gondal *Bár* terminates farther north, and the *Bár-i-Chin-áo*, is not here to be distinguished at the present day—and the soil being very sandy, the waters find their way far inland. Indeed, the whole of the lower part of the triangle con-

<sup>343</sup> In the time of Akbar Bádsháh there were two *maḥálls* or districts named Deg Ráwí in the *Śúbah* of Multán, and both in the Multán *Sarkár*, one on either side of the Deg: one accounted in the Bári *Do-ábah*, and the other in the Rachin-áo. The first was styled the “*Mauwázi*” (plural of *Mauza*’)-i-Deg Ráwí,” which *maḥáll* was assessed at the very low rate of 50,147 *dáms* in money, but there were only 867 *bígahs* and 14 *biswahs* of land under cultivation; while the other, along with *Í-ruj-púr*, formed two *maḥálls* under the name of “*Í-ruj-púr* and Deg Ráwí.” These were assessed in the sum of 23,77,300 *dáms* in money, but then there were 37,230 *bígahs* of land under cultivation. The inhabitants were *Khar’ls*, who were entered as liable to furnish 200 horsemen, and 2,000 foot as militia.

In the present day, when the Deg overflows its banks, which are below the level of the surrounding country, it inundates the tracts around; but its floods, like the inundations of the Ráwí, have decreased from what they used in former times to be, and the channel, from all accounts, appears to have decreased in breadth and increased in depth. The supposition that the Deg ever ran as far as Kot Kamáliáh is quite impossible, with the high bank of the Ráwí intervening, but its waters in time of floods may have reached as far down as that part. The decrease of water may be attributed to the increase of cultivation farther north, and the consequent demand for more water.

<sup>344</sup> *Mel*, in Sanskrit, means ‘union,’ ‘association,’ ‘combination,’ etc. *Do*, of course, means ‘two.’ See also note 337, page 378.



stituting, at present, the lower extremity of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah is, without doubt, of comparatively recent formation. More respecting this tract will be mentioned in the notice of the river Ráwí.

There are several canals from the Chin-áb, in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah in the present Jhang district, some of which are certainly very old, from the fact that their levels are much higher than the present level of its channel; and it is clear that, at a former period, the river must have flowed at a much higher level to have enabled water to reach them. There is one about a mile distant from Shor Kot, on the west, which, even at the period of the greatest inundations, water can scarcely enter. It is styled the Rání Wá-hah or Rání's Canal.

Traces of another ancient canal remain in the middle of the Sándal Bár, near the site of an ancient city, said to have been, in by-gone times, the chief place and seat of government of these parts, called Asraur or Saurur (the “Khangah Asroor” of the maps, meant, probably, for the Khánkah or Monastery near Asraur). It runs in the direction of south-west for upwards of forty miles, passing about four miles to the southward of the Tall of Sángalá. It is known as the Nannan Wá-hah (the “Nunnunwah Canal” of the maps), because Wá-hah (*vul.* “Wah” and “Vah”) means a canal.

The Chin-áb has changed its course very considerably, and its valley, or rather, the tract over which it has flowed at different periods, is thirty miles broad. In by-gone days, at about the point where the Shaikhán Patan now is, some fourteen miles north-east of Chandaní-ot or Chandan-ot, instead of turning more to the westwards as at present, it kept a course more towards the south-south-west, and passed five miles *east* of Chandan-ot; while now it passes it two miles and a half on the *west*. Its old bed is very distinct, and runs within a mile of Rajú-á. The whole space between this ancient channel and the present one below Chandan-ot is seamed with other old channels running in the direction of Jhang-i-Síalán, one of which lies within four miles of it on the east. These channels, lower down towards Shor Kot, again unite with the ancient bed.<sup>345</sup> At one place, a point

<sup>345</sup> Cunningham, in his “Ancient Geography of India,” like all others, traces the movements of Alexander and his Greeks, according to the present courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, to judge from the maps at pages 104 and 248; but, in some places, his descriptions do not appear to agree with his maps. When we see what great changes have taken place in the courses of these rivers within the short space of one hundred years, what may have occurred in the space of two thousand two hundred? He also traces the travels of Hwen Thsang in the same way, from Shor Kot, according to the present course of the Chin-áb, and along what is known as the Panch Nad, that is, five rivers, or Panj-Ab, united into one giving name to the territory. This Panch Nad now extends from the junction of the Ghára

east of Shor Kot, there is but seven miles between this ancient channel (in which the river flowed when Amír Tímúr crossed, I believe) and one of the old channels of the Ráwí. This old channel of the Chin-áb pursued a course to the east of Shor Kot,<sup>346</sup> within three or four miles; for the nearest channel is five, and the most distant, nine miles from that place east. Running in a direction about south-west, this old bed of the Chin-áb, about seven miles south-south-west of Shor Kot, and about four miles east of Bastí-i-Islám, united with another old bed of the Ráwí some twelve or thirteen miles farther east, and seven or eight miles farther north than at present. After the junction the Ráwí lost its name; and, at the period in question, the united streams took a much more southerly course than at present, passing near

(not Sutlaj: that lost its name on uniting with the Bíáh, as did the Bíáh likewise below the junction) and the Chin-áb, thirteen miles above Uchchh, down to the junction of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, with this Panch Nad, a distance, as the crow flies, of about forty-two miles; whereas, in the last century, this Panch Nad united with the Indus close to Uchchh on the west, and did not then exist as it does at present, but was situated much higher up than Uchchh, as noticed at page 219. Uchchh now is, or recently was, nearly eight miles from this Panch Nad, and over twelve miles *below its commencement*.

With all this he very properly points out (p. 220), that, "In describing the geography of Multán it is necessary to bear in mind the great changes that have taken place in the courses of all the large rivers that flow through the province," and yet, in another place (p. 218) says, that "the site of Alexander's altars must be looked for along the line of the present course of the Satlaj, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan. \* \* \* To this point, therefore, the territory of the Sudraæ or Surákas, must have extended in the time of Alexander."

He places it, therefore, at a point immediately east of the *present* Sutlaj, that is east of, and before its junction with the Bíáh, for then it ceased to be the Sutlaj; and at that period, probably, and up to modern times, certainly, as shown in the account of that river farther on, it flowed from thirty to sixty-five miles farther east (the distance of the oldest channel we know of eastwards) than the present course of the Hariári—the united Bíáh and Sutlaj in the upper part of its course, and Ghára in the lower. See page 372.

<sup>346</sup> There is a great depression or hollow east of the town of Shor Kot which, in the rainy season, becomes filled, and forms a large lake. Some of the local authorities supposed that "the materials for the great Bhira or Mound," on which the place stands, "were taken from it." It is much more likely to be the remains of the ancient channel of the Chin-áb when it united with the Bihat south of the town and fort.

The strip of country peculiar to the southern half of the present sub-district of Shor Kot, is clearly of recent formation. The soil is light and sandy, and water lies very near the surface. Such parts of it as are not brought under cultivation is covered with a dense growth of a grass known as *sur* (*Saccharum sura*: *Roxb.*) The tract below Shor Kot is likewise cut up by numerous channels, which conduct the inundation waters far inland.



Sidhú kí Sará'e on the west, and between nine and ten miles to the east of Multán, and united with the Bíáh about twenty-eight miles south of that place. See note 349, page 347.

Another old channel of the Chin-áb lies a few miles west of the one just noticed, which passed near Bukhárí on the west, ran in the direction of south-west, passed Khíwá or Khíwah<sup>347</sup> on the east, within a few miles of Jhang, and within three miles of Mughíánah also on the east, and lower down united with the old channel just described.

There is yet another old channel of the Chin-áb a few miles west of the present one, and traceable downwards from about Lat. 32°12', which runs almost parallel to the present channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between at the broadest part, passes within ten miles north-west of Chandan-ot, and runs towards Kot-i-'Isá Sháh and Kádir-púr on the Bihat or Jihlam. There can be no doubt that, at some previous period, the Chin-áb, or a considerable branch from it, ran therein, and united with the Bihat a little to the south of Kádir-púr above mentioned.<sup>348</sup>

<sup>347</sup> The Mughíání Síáls claim that this place was founded by one of their chiefs who was twelfth in descent from Síál, their progenitor, and that when he founded it, the Chin-áb flowed to the east of it. In the last century Chandan-ot was dependent on Láhor, and Khíwah on Multán.

<sup>348</sup> As a specimen of the manner in which names are inserted in our maps, I may mention that a part of the first old channel here noticed, appears in one of our maps as the "*Boodh N.*," and in others as "ancient bed of the Chenab;" the second as the "*Boodi N.*;" and the third as the "*N. Boodhee.*" Of course all these three different forms refer to one word, namely, *buddhi*—بدهی—signifying in Hindí, 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.—or "old or ancient channel."

A right understanding as to the ancient courses of the rivers of these parts will throw considerable light upon the movements of the Greeks in the Panj-áb territory and Sind.

Curtius says, that, having turned back from the west or right bank of the Hyphasis [Bíáh] in consequence of his troops refusing to proceed farther eastwards, as related farther on, Alexander reached and encamped along the Acesines [Chin-áb]. After this he sailed down that river towards the ocean with a thousand vessels, proceeding about four hundred stadia [about forty-eight miles] daily [that is, he probably brought up before dark, as those who even now go by the river routes in these parts generally do], in order to be able to land his forces at convenient places. Then he came to the tract of country where the Hydaspes [Bihat] falls into the Acesines [Chin-áb], from which he fell down the confluence of these rivers into the territory of the Sobii." He then landed his forces, marched two-hundred and fifty stadia [about thirty miles] into the country [to the east, I presume, but the author does not say which. This would be in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah wherever the confluence may have been], took the capital, after defeating a great army [the undisciplined people of the country or mere rabble] of another nation [tribe?] drawn up on the banks to oppose his landing. He then took a town by

Subsequently, some great convulsion of nature in the parts farther north appears to have caused vast changes in the courses of storm to which they had fled on being defeated; and then another town, which the people set fire to, and perished in the flames, along with their women and children. The castle was not damaged; and Alexander left a garrison in it, after which he went round it by water for *it was encompassed by three of the largest rivers of all India* except the Ganges, which seemed to lend their streams for its fortification. "The Indus washes it on the north side, and on the south, the Acesines [Chin-áb] unites itself with the Hydaspes [Bihat]. The violent meeting of these rivers makes their waters as turbulent and rough as those of the sea; and, as they carry a great deal of silt, which, by their rapid concourse is very much disturbed, they leave but a narrow channel for boats to pass in," etc. Here the fleet got into great disorder, and sustained much damage, two of the largest vessels were lost; and such was the danger to the fleet, that many prepared to swim for their lives. Here three altars were erected, one for each river.

According to Arrian, and the other authorities quoted in the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," by the Revd. J. Williams, a useful abstract, chiefly drawn from Arrian and Strabo, and also to a less degree from Curtius, Athenæus, and Plutarch, the fleet consisted of 80 *tria-conters*, and more than 2,000 river craft of every description; and in eight days [from where he embarked] the fleet arrived near the confluence of the *two rivers* [the Hydaspes and Acesines: there is no Indus mentioned here]; and their united streams contracted immediately below the point of junction. "The current is sharp and rapid, and strong eddies are formed by the struggling waters that swell in waves and encounter each other, so that the roar of the conflict is audible from a great distance."

See Amír Tímúr's account of the junction of the Jamd or Bihat with the Chin-áb at page 279.

Here the vessels ran foul of each other, and losses were sustained, so that the fleet was partly disabled, and two vessels sank. A small promontary on the right bank [west] offered shelter and protection to the partly disabled fleet.

All this took place near and at the junction of the Hydaspes [the Bihat] and the Acesines [the Chin-áb]. What part of the territory of the Panj-áb will agree with these descriptions, according to the present aspect of the country, leaving alone the rivers? Not with Multán, I trow, and with no place south of Qhandaní-ot or Shor Kot; yet Cunningham "identifies" this place of meeting at the time of Alexander, with Multán, as if the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Chin-áb] had ever yet united south of the walls of that place. If Curtius is right as to the Indus also uniting near this castle, the matter is still more complex.

It may be well also to mention here, that it is said, previously, that Alexander built Nicœa on the left [east] bank of the Hydaspes [Bihat]; and in another place, that, "on some part of the river, between Nicœa and the standing camp at the confluence of the Acesines [the Chin-áb and Bihat below their junction] and the Hydraotes [the Ráwí], Alexander had visited a prince by name Sopeithes; and Strabo says, that, in his territory is a mountain [range] composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Here, of course, the Namak Sár, Koh-i-Júd, or Salt Range is referred to. Rivers were constantly changing, and the recognition of places lying near them at the period in question depends on where and how they then ran, but mountains do not change so easily.



most of the Panj-áb rivers—the same convulsion, in all probability, which caused, or happened at the same time as, the great flood recorded in the Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh, and related farther on—and the other rivers adjoining that tract of territory on the east, tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah. At this period the Chin-áb turned more to the eastward above Chandan-oṭ; passed it on the *west* side instead of on the *east* as it had previously done; ran for some miles more to the south-west, passing Jhang-i-Síalán also on the west, which it had passed previously on the east; and some thirteen miles farther south-west, entered the channel of the Bihat or Wihat, and flowed past Shor Koṭ six or seven miles to the west. It also passed west of Multán, as it does at present; but it then joined the already united Bíáh and Ráwí about forty-six miles below Multán,<sup>349</sup> instead of twenty-eight miles below that city on the east, as it had previously done. Then came still further changes, which caused the Ráwí, presently to be noticed, to alter its course, when it deserted the Bíáh altogether, took a more direct westerly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but some nineteen or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of passing it a few miles on the east side, as it had previously done.

From how far up the Hydaspes the fleet started we may judge from its having taken eight days to reach the confluence of that river with the Acesines; for if we take the daily distance at, say, one half of that mentioned, the starting point would have been considerably above Jihlam of the present day. See note 390.

Alexander's subsequent movements from this place of junction will be noticed farther on.

<sup>349</sup> Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí Do-ábah, that is, between the Ráwí and the Bíáh, but this I believe to be an error in the arrangement of the columns of his work, because *as long as the Ráwí continued to flow east of it*, which it still continued to do up to the close of the last century, *it was in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah*. Consequently, if Abú-l-Fazl is right, the Ráwí must *then* have flowed north of Multán to unite with the Chin-áb, which it could not have done, unless, since his time, it again deserted it, turned southwards, and again left the Chin-áb to unite with the Bíáh; because, as said above, at the close of the last century the Ráwí flowed *east* of it. Another reason why I think Abú-l-Fazl in error here is, that Chaukhandí and Multán were in the same Do-ábah then, and he places the former in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but *now*, it is like Multán, in the Bárí Do-ábah. I have mentioned previously, that, before being in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughá Nú-ín, Mangútah, both Multán and Uchchh were in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah extends *now* no farther south than Harí ke Paṭan, which is some two hundred miles above Multán. In the same way, Debál-púr the Pák Pattan or Ajúddhan, and other places around, were *then* in the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah, but *now* are some eighty miles beyond it, and are in the Bárí Do-ábah; and Chaukhandí, *then* in the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, is *now* in the Bárí Do-ábah likewise.

Only about a century since, when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, before referred to, returned from Kábul by Khush-áb, the Dá'irah of

In Abú-l-Fazl's time, the *Mahálls* or sub-districts of Adam Wá-han, Faṭh-púr, Jalál-ábád, Sher Garh, Dunyá-púr, Ráj-púr, Kuhror, Khá'e Búlidhí, and Ghallú-Gháraḥ (گھلو گھارہ) of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Shubāh*, were in the Bíst-Jhándar Do-ábah, that is, between the Sutlaj, as it formerly flowed in a separate channel, and the Bíáh before they united into one stream and became the Hariári, Núrní, Nílí, or Gháraḥ, but they are not so now. Multán is still in the Bári Do-ábah, which extends from the Ráwí to the right bank of the dried up Bíáh—not, it will be observed, to the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Gháraḥ—while the tract between the Bári Do-ábah and the new river just mentioned, namely, from the left bank of the dry Bíáh to the right bank of the Hariári, Nílí, or Gháraḥ, has become known to modern native writers as the Shamálí Kachchhí Do-ábah, or north Kachchhí delta, locally known as the Nílí Bār, names not known to Abú-l-Fazl, because the Bíáh, in his day, still flowed in its own bed; and the *Mahálls* above referred to are in this newly formed Do-ábah. The meaning of Kachchhí is alluvial land of recent formation, subject to the annual inundations, and called *heṭhár* in the Jhang district; and the tracts of this description lying along either bank of the Hariári, Nílí, or Gháraḥ, within the influence of the annual inundations of that river, are known as Chhotí Kachchhí to this day. See also pages 331 and 384.

Let us see what the old European travellers say, from actual observations, respecting the rivers in the vicinity of Multán, or running near it; and see also page 301.

The earliest who notice Multán are two Englishmen of Captain Nicholas Down-ton's Company, who made a journey from India to Persia in 1614. Their remarks on Láhor are given farther on. "From thence [Láhor] they pass'd on to Multan, a great and ancient city, seated pretty near the river Indus. \*\*\* When the Potane [*i.e.*, Paṭán or Afghán] Kings maintained their Ground in India, this place was in a very flourishing estate whilst Agra and Láhor lay both in the greatest obscurity: But now she has little to pretend to, those upstart Rivals have robb'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to lay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is so poor, that Caravans are obliged to stay hereabouts eight or ten days whether they have business or no, that they may do it a kindness, by spending some of their Money; neither will the Governour let them pass on, till they have rested themselves here for as much time as that comes to."

Next in rotation comes Mandelsloe (see also note 289, page 297), who previously had accompanied the Ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein to the Sháh of Persia, and who was in India in 1639, the same year in which the traitor, 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Zík Kurd, betrayed Kandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTAN," page 605. Mandelsloe says: "The Province of *Multan*, with its chief city of the same name extends along the River *Indus* to the East, as the Province of Haca Chan or Hangi Chan [he refers to the *Derah-ját*] has the same River to the West." Here he, or his printer, has reversed matters: for *west* we must read *east*.

Thevenot, who comes about twenty-seven years after, in 1666, says: " *Multan*, which comprehends *Bucor* [Bakhar was a *Sarkár* of Multán], has to the south the



Sháh Muqím, and Baháwal-púr, avoiding Multán, he says he “left the Dá’irah and proceeded fifteen *kuroh* from thence to Kot-i-Shujá’ Khán. Leaving it, and going another twelve *kuroh*, he reached the village of Múchakí, a small place inhabited by Musalmáns, below which, the Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam or Wihat and Ráwí, unite with the Biah (not the Ghárah it will be noticed: the Sutlaj and Biah had not yet finally united); and the ferry across is called the Múchakí Paṭan or Ferry. Having crossed, he halted at Koṭhah near by, a small fort of burnt brick construction, twenty *kuroh* distant from Baháwal-púr, and then in Baháwal Khán’s possession.”

This Koṭhah is the “*Kottee*” of the maps, now on the Multán side, six miles and a half north of Jalál-púr; and within about three

Province of *Sinde*, and to the north the Province of *Caboul*; as it hath *Persia* to the West, and the Province of *Lahors* to the east. It is watered from many Rivers that make it fertile. The Capital Town which is also called *Multan*, was heretofore a place of very great trade, because it is not far from the River *Indus*; but seeing at present, vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that River is spoilt in some places, and the mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land-carriage is too great. However the Province yields plenty of *Sugar*, *Opium*, *Brimstone*, *Galls*, and store of *Camels*, which are transported into *Persia*, by *Gazna*, and *Candahar*, or into the *Indies* themselves by *Lahors*; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the *Indus* at small charges, to *Tatta*, where the merchants of several countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as *Surrat*, if they expect a considerable price for them.

“The Town of *Multan* is by some Geographers attributed to *Sinde*, though it make a Province by itself. \*\*\* To conclude, the Town of *Multan* is but of small extent for a Capital, but is pretty well Fortifi’d; and it is very considerable to the *Mogul* when the *Persians* are Masters of *Candahar*, as they are at present.” This was written in the tenth year of Aurang-zeb-i-’Alam-gír’s reign.

Tavernier, who, at the same period, was travelling in India, says: “*Multan* is a City where there is made a vast quantity of Linnen Calicuts, which was always transported to *Tuta*, before the sands had stopp’d up the mouth of the River; but since that, it is carry’d all to *Agra*, and from *Agra* to *Surat*, as is the greater part of the Merchandize which is made at *Lahor*. But in regard carriage is so dear, very few merchants traffick either to *Multan* or at *Lahor*; and many of the workmen have also deserted those places, so that the King’s Revenues are very much diminished in those Provinces. \*\*\* *Multan* is the place where all the *Banians* come, that trade with *Persia*.”

Here we have clear evidence of some vast changes in the course of the *Indus*, and the other rivers, its tributaries, to cause merchandize to be sent from Multán and Láhor to Agrá in order to reach Súrat, instead of sending by vessels on the Ráwí and the Chin-áb from those two provincial capitals. Here is another proof, were any required, that the Biah still flowed in its own bed, and had not changed its course. See the map of these parts, constructed a few years previous to the period in question, taken from Purchas at page 321.

miles south-west of it, the junction of the Bíáh and Chin-áb then took place, and there the old channel of the Bíáh is still to be seen. Now, there is no Bíáh running there, and the Gháraḥ—the Sutlaj and Bíáh united—joins the Chin-áb and its tributaries sixteen miles lower down in the direction of south-south-west.

The Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán, on the west side of the Chin-áb above the junction, here referred to, must not be mistaken for what is, at present, called Shujá'-ábád. The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, says: "There are two Koṭs known as Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán; one on the west side of the river, and one on the east [the Shujá'-ábád of the present time], and are distant twenty *kuroḥ* from each other."<sup>350</sup>

Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'in-i-Akbarí, gives but a very brief notice of the Chin-áb; and what he says respecting it, has been previously recorded at page 294.

The Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh the author of which was a Hindú, mentions, that the Chin-áb, in the books of the Hindús is called Chandar-Bhágá, and attributes its name to the Chandar issuing out of Chín [China]. It soon enters Kiwár [کیوار], celebrated for its saffron. It then receives some tributaries, and gets the name of Chandar-Bhágá. It falls over high rocks at a place near Jammún [*vul.* "Jumoo" and "Jamoo"], forming a magnificent sight, and after that breaks into eighteen branches which again unite, after flowing a distance of twelve *kuroḥ*, at the *kaṣbah* of Bahlúl-púr. It then flows through the Síal Koṭ district, and below the *kaṣbah* of Súḍharah passes onwards towards Wazír-ábád. The wood called *sák* (ساک) and *diyár* (دييار), which is well known, is brought down by merchants from the mountain tracts of Chanbah to Wazír-ábád; and floated as far down as Bakhar and Thaṭbah. The Sháh Guzr or Royal Ferry is at Wazír-ábád. \*\*\* The river then reaches Chandaní-oṭ,<sup>351</sup> an ancient place, where is the tomb of the Sayyid, Sháh Burhán. From thence it flows on into Jhang-i-Síalán, which was the dwelling place of Hírah, who is celebrated throughout these parts for her love of Ránjah,<sup>352</sup> and, after passing it, the Chin-áb unites with the Wihat or Jihlam, as already recorded."

<sup>350</sup> Shahámat 'Alí, in his work on Baháwal-púr, says (page xxvii): "From the low and marshy nature of the country south of Multán, there are few towns or villages in that direction of any distinction, excepting Shujahabad and Koṭ-i-Shuja [Khán], which are more military posts than towns."

<sup>351</sup> The ancient channel of the Chin-áb which passes Chandan-oṭ less than two miles on the east, is twenty-five miles from the present channel near Jhang, and as before mentioned, the whole tract between is more or less seamed with old channels.

<sup>352</sup> There is a poem in the Panj-ábí dialect, very popular throughout these parts, on the loves of Hírah and Ránjah.



There is an old and minor branch of the Chin-áb, which must not be passed over, since it has been mistaken for the ancient channel of the Ráwí,<sup>353</sup> whereas the former river passed this minor branch of the Chin-áb four or five miles farther east. I refer to the Lolí Wá-han (لولي وآهن), “which *nahr* is supposed by some,” according to my Survey record, “to have been originally cut from the Chin-áb, about ten or twelve *kuroh* above Multán. In more recent times, after that river altered its former course east of that place to the west side, it has been neglected, and has gone to ruin. It becomes full during the periodical inundations of that river, and passes north of the fortress, close under the walls, on the side on which stands the tomb of the Rukn-i-'Álam, then runs towards the south to Kot-i-Shujá' Khán, and is used for irrigation purposes, or lost in the thirsty soil. Except in the time of the inundations it is nearly dry.” A few years since, it was a mere marsh near the north wall of the fortress of Multán, and, probably is so still.

<sup>353</sup> At page 205, Vol. I., of Elliot's “Historians,” it is stated, that “Muhammad Kásim's forces, [Muhammad, the conqueror of Sind, was Kásim's son] found no suitable place for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort [of Multán], and sued for mercy. \*\*\* He pointed out a place towards the north, on the banks of a river.” In a foot note, the learned Editor has, “آب جوي—This can hardly mean the main river.” Hardly; for the Lolí Wá-han is referred to or a similar small channel.

Cunningham (“Ancient India,” page 142) says: “The Ravi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rains the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress [supposing that Multán is referred to, perhaps?].” See note 348, page 345.

The river “bed” the writer refers to is the Lolí Wá-han, so changed in the course of ninety-five years as to be scarcely recognizable, but it was not the Ráwí. He appears to have forgotten that there is a canal from the Chin-áb, passing close to Multán on the west, navigable, and actually called the Sikandar-ábád canal, and, of course, must have been cut by order of Alexander, for have we not his name here?

He also “identifies Atári,” about twenty miles W-S-W. of Tulanbah on the high road to Multán, which is really called Atári-Wálah, of recent origin, founded by a Sikh of that family name, near which are the ruins he refers to, as “the city of the Brahmans which made such a stout defence against Alexander. \*\*\* Curtius says Alexander went completely round the citadel (of Multán) in a boat, which is probable enough [if the river flowed by it instead of a score miles farther north or south] as its ditch was no doubt capable of being filled at pleasure from the river.” Why not have fixed upon Shahr-chah, near which is the tomb of “Shaikh Abdool Hakeem,” of the maps, seven miles and a half west of Tulanbah? It is the site of an ancient city of great size.

In another place the Survey record states, that the Lolí Wá-han<sup>354</sup> passed a short distance north of Jahán-gír-abád; and, that, “in going from thence to Multán, you proceed three *kuroh* south, and by the way cross this *rúd-khánah* [river bed] twice; once about half-way, and the second time near the Láhor Gate of Multán by means of a wooden bridge.”

THE RÁWÍ, RÁWAH, OR ANCIENT ÍRÁWATÍ.<sup>355</sup>

“The Ráwí, called by the old historians the Ráwah of Láhor or Loháwar, and Íráwatí by the Hindús, issues from the mountain range of Chanbah, the source of which river is sacred to Mahá-díw. \*\*\* It

<sup>354</sup> Fortunately, a record exists respecting this branch or cutting from the Chin-áb, mistaken for the old bed of the Ráwí, the bed of which lies much farther east. In mentioning the six gates of the city, the Survey record says: “The Láhorí Darwázah is on the north-west side on the Lolí Wá-han; and outside it, over that *rúd* is a brick bridge [before it was said to be of wood: perhaps there was one of wood as well]. Beyond the gate is a suburb, inhabited by about a thousand Afghán families, and it is styled the Koṭ of Túlí Khán.” This seems to be what is now incorrectly called the “*Kiri* of the Afgháns,” instead of *Gira’í*, a Pus’hto word signifying a halting place of nomad Afgháns. Respecting the Bohar Darwázah, it says, “this is on the west side of the city walls, and there also is a suburb; and the Lolí Wá-han passes about a quarter of a *kuroh* to the west of it. The Daulat Darwázah is on the north-east side of the walls, and the Lolí Wá-han passes by near to it. Beyond, on the outside, the mansions of Sultáns and Princes of by-gone times were situated, and the camp for their troops, but they are now in a state of total ruin.” Respecting the four gates of the fortress, the writer says: “The northern one is called the Khizrí Darwázah, and opens on the Lolí Wá-han [that is, opposite to, and near it], and is always kept closed. \*\*\* Within the Díw Darwázah, on the Lolí Wá-han side, is the Tomb and Shrine of the Rukn-i-’Álam (Pillar of the Universe), the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Dín, son of the Shaikh, Şadr-ud-Dín-i-’Árif, who died in 709 H. (1309-10 A.D.), son of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul-Hakḳ wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá. In the rainy season when the Lolí Wá-han, which runs outside the fort walls on the north, becomes full and overflows, the area round the Tomb and Shrine becomes a gathering place for sight-seers. The Lolí Wá-han also passes not far from the walls on the side where is the Tomb and Shrine of Bahá-ul-Hakḳ; and the Tomb and Shrine of Shams-i-Tabríz is on the other side of the same Lolí Wá-han, farther on towards the south.” This was at the period that the Nawwáb, Muẓaffar Khán, Sadozí, held the fief of the Multán province from Tímúr Sháh Bádsháh, ruler of the Afghán state, for the annual sum of two and a half *lakhs* of *rúpís*, paid to the Durrání treasury.

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note farther on.

Masson (Vol. I, p. 396) says, “the inundations of the Ráwí river extended to the city, but it is *three miles* distant, and has what is called a *bandar*, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station.” This refers to an old channel close to Sítal kí Márí, noticed by Cunningham. See page 365.

<sup>355</sup> The people of these parts still call it by the ancient names.



passes below Chanbah where is a wooden bridge, and flows to Bisohlí (بسوهلی), where is a boat ferry. Below Sháh-púr it leaves the hills, and here there is a cutting of about a quarter of the volume of water, which is carried on to Láhor and Paṭhán or Paṭán Kot,<sup>356</sup> and to the *pargana*hs of Baṭálah and Paṭí. The channel of this *nahr* or cutting is now ruined [through neglect], and the stream having turned away from Bahrám-púr, re-unites with the main river near the city of Láhor. The Ráwí afterwards flows by Faríd-ábád, Sayyid-Wálah, and within a *kuroh* of Tulanbah; and just half-way between the village of Dandí-Wálah and Sargání, unites with the Chin-áb and loses its name. The place of junction is called Trimúṇ.”

A channel from this *nahr* from the Ráwí can be distinctly traced from Sháh-púr, by Gurdás-púr, Baṭálah (“Bulata” of the maps), and from fourteen to fifteen miles south of Amrit-Sar (*vul.* “Umritsur”), and appears in the maps as “Dry N.”; while the *nahr* itself, which is said (in the Survey record), to turn aside from Bahrám-púr (the “Buhrampoor” of the maps) appears as the “Kirn N.,” which now unites with the parent stream seventeen miles *above*, instead of *close to* Láhor.

What changes are here shown to have taken place during the lapse of even less than a century! Such is a brief notice of the Ráwí from the Survey record I have already quoted.

<sup>356</sup> According to Cunningham (page 144), “the name of this place is not derived from the well known Muhammadan Pathâns, or Afghâns, but from the *Pathân Tribe of Hindu Rajpûts*.” This is something quite new, and may account for the “Pathân Coins,” and the “Pathân Dynasties” of the “Archæological Department,” in which have been included Tájzîks, Turks, Sayyids, Jaṭs, Ḥabashís, and others, who have ruled in Hind, and formed into one delightful jumble, being styled “Pathâns,” without there having been a single Paṭán among them; and now we must add, it seems, “Hindu Rajpût Pathâns” although, I suppose, there are no *Musalman* “Rajpût Pathâns.”

This comes from Tod probably, as, at page 233, Vol. II., of his “Rajast’han,” referring to the Langáh Jaṭs who once ruled over the territory of Multán (See my “NOTES ON AFGHÂNISTÁN,” etc., page 569) he says that, “The use of the word *Pat’hân* by no means precludes their being Hindus.” What then does *Pat’hân* mean?

The “Pasto, Pakhhto,” and “Pukhhsto” scholars have to their own satisfaction proved, that the Πάκτυες of Herodotus” are the “Pathâns or Afghâns,” whose progenitor was only born about the year 576 A. D., but here they are all “identified” as “Hindu Rajpûts.”

This, however, is nothing to the discovery of another philosopher, only lately come to light, namely, that “the name Afghán [only the people call themselves Puṣ’htánah] is connected with the *Açvaca* of the *Mahabárata*!” This is well worthy of insertion in a Gazetteer or a Cyclopedia, or such like “popular” reading. See note 27, page 164.

Abú-l-Fazl merely mentions the ancient name of the Ráwí, and that it issues from the mountain range of Bhadrál or Bhadrá, and that the Dár-ul-Mulk, Láhor, is situated on its banks.<sup>357</sup>

<sup>357</sup> Láhor was visited in 1603 by John Mildenhall, a merchant of London, who set out in 1599 from Işfahán by Yazd, Kirmán, Sijis-stán, and Kándahár. He reached "*Lahora*," as he styles it, from "*Candahar*," but, unfortunately, no particulars respecting this part of his journey are in existence that I am aware of.

Two Englishmen of Captain Downton's company, however, reached it in 1614. In the extract from the account of their travels it is stated: "But none made more of the trade of this famous city than the Portugals did (as long as they had the Wit to keep friends with the *Great Mogul*). For all the Merchandize they dealt for with the Foreigners, or *Indians*, at *Lahore*, was here embarked upon the spot, and so down the Ravee (into the Indus) away for *Persia*, *Ormus*, and those parts," etc., etc. \* \* \* In the time of the *Potane* [Paţán or Afghán] kings it (*Lahore*) was but a trifling village.

This matter of Portuguese trade is entered into more fully by Messrs. Richard Steele and John Crowther, two Merchants in the service of the East Indian Society, who went from Ajmír to Işfahán in the years 1614–1615. They reached Multán on the 22nd May, 1614. They say: "*Lahor* stands on the Rieur *Indus* or *Sinde* [See page 301, and note 349, page 347], and from this place came the Treasure of the *Portugals* Trade when they had peace, as being the center of all *Indian* Traffique. And here they embarqued the same down the Rieur for *Tatta*, whence they were transferred for *Ormus* and *Persia*. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt *Persia* and *India*, pay'd them freight. They did likewise drive a great Trade up this Rieur for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of *India* therewith. At this present the Merchants of *India* assemble at *Lahor*, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and ioyne themselves in Carauans to passe the Mountains of *Candahar* into *Persia*, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteen thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarcely pass'd three thousand, the rest going by way of *Ormus*. These Merchants are put to greate charges betwixt *Lahor* and *Spahan* (besides greate cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badness of the way, spending six or seven months betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camel's lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie or one hundred and thirtie Rupiás. *Persia* is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from *Masulipatan* over land."

This merchandize went from Multán by the Sanghar Pass, and by Tal, Tsoţialí and Pushang to Kándahár by the route described for the first time, other than by those two merchants, by me in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 547. See also my account therein of the POWANDAH Afghán Tribes, page 483.

Thevenot says: "*Lahor* is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon one of the five Rivers that descend from the mountains of the North to swell the River *Indus*; and give the name of *Peniab* to all the Region which they water. This River at this time flows not within a league of the Town [now it is just one mile], being subject to change in its Channel, and many times does very great mischief to the adjoining Fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The City is large, and extends itself above a league in length. But the greatest part of the Houses, which are higher than those of *Agra* and *Deli*, fall to ruine, by reason of the excessive rains that have overflowed a great number of them."



The *Khulásat-ut-Tawárikh* states, that, at the period that work was written in 1107 H. (1695 A. D.), the Ráwí united with the *Chin-áb* close to Sará'e-i-Siḍhú or Siḍhú kí Sará'e (the "Serraiee Siddhoo" of the maps), twenty *kuroh* from Multán. At the present time the Sará'e in question is less than a mile from the south bank of the Ráwí, and from it the river turns northwards and westwards, then south-west, winding considerably, and unites with the *Chin-áb* eleven miles west of that place.<sup>358</sup>

The climate of these parts seems to have changed considerably since Thevenot wrote. He was there in 1665-66.

Tavernier, who was in these parts about the same years, says of the "Province of Lahors," that, "The chief Town is not now upon the *Ravy* as it was for a long time, because that River having a very flat Channel, has fallen off from it above a quarter of a league. \* \* \* This hath been a very pretty Town when the Kings kept their Courts in it. \* \* \* I have already said, that the great walk of Trees (which begins at *Agra*) reaches as far as *Lahors*, though the two Towns be distant from one another one hundred and fifty Leagues, the lovely Alley is very pleasant."

This "lovely alley" was the work of Sultán *Sher Sháh*, Sor, the Afghán or Paṭán Sultán of the Dihlí empire, who is said to have had a daily postal service between Níl-áb and Ágrá, and that trees were planted on both sides of the way all along this route.

<sup>358</sup> When the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dará-Shukoh, eldest son of *Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh*, was preparing at Láhor for his expedition against *Kandahár* in 1653, two battering guns of great calibre for those days, were specially cast at Láhor, one of which carried a ball of 90 lbs., and the other a shot of 64 lbs. These, together with a third great gun, brought from *Sháh-Jahán-ábád*, after twenty days' labour occupied in removing them from the citadel of Láhor to the banks of the Ráwí and shipping them on board vessels, were sent down that river to Multán.

The Prince's army amounted to 104,000 men, including 70,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery men, accompanied by 36 guns and mortars, and 60 great war elephants. The heavy guns, ten in all, including the three above mentioned, were sent down the *Áb-i-Sind*, and by *Dáḍhar*, and *Shál* (*Kwatah*, *vul.* "Quetta") to *Kandahár*, and, in consequence, only arrived there towards the termination of the investment, and failure of the expedition.

I gave a brief summary of this affair, and the march by the Sangar Pass, a route wholly unknown to modern writers, by *Ohatsah*, *Tal*, *Tsotíalí*, and by the *Síadzga'í* or *Tabak-sar* (both words being of one and the same meaning, the first being *Puṣ'hto* and the latter *Tájzik*) into *Pushang* (*vul.* "Péshín"), in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 21, in September, 1878. This was the first time that this route was described by any European author, and the first time the route of this great army was made known; and only one native writer knew correctly the composition of the force, or the route taken by it both in going and returning, and he accompanied it. A recent reviewer, in the '*Athenæum*,' for July 26th, 1890, referring to my "NOTES," says: "It was Major Raverty who several years ago brought to the notice of the Indian Government the existence of the direct route by which Prince Muhammad Dara-Shukoh led his formidable army of over 100,000 men from Multan to Candahar, an identification which quite

When the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to at page 348, was returning to Kábul from India in 1787, he had to give up the idea of going from Multán by way of Layyá, because a large force of Sikhs had invaded that part. He, therefore, had to proceed by Mankerah. His route throws light on the state of the parts near the confluence of the Chin-áb, Bihat, and Ráwí. He set out from Multán for Khán Chál, distant five *kos* (this is what is called the *kachchhah kos*, just a mile and a half) north-eastwards; then to the Deh-i-Sháh Nawáz, on the banks of the Bíáh (not the *dry* Bíáh) ten *kos* in the same general direction; then ten *kos* north to Sháh-púr; and thence to Tulanbah, between north and east, another ten *kos*. From Tulanbah he went fifteen *kos* north-west, and reached Sárwán. He distinctly states that this stage brought him into the tract between the Chin-áb and the Bihat, on the edge or margin of the great desert waste—the *Thal*—and that another stage, in the same general direction took him to Mahárán (possibly, what is now styled “Gurh Maharaja” in our maps), through the sandy desert. Another two stages brought him to Mankerah.

About the time of the 'Arab conquest by Muḥammad, the son of Kásim, the Ráwí united with the Bíáh east of Multán. It has always been remarkable for its erratic course, especially below Láhor, and from thence to its junction with the Chin-áb, notwithstanding that it runs in a deep bed. Tavernier however, quoted in the preceding note 357, says its channel is very flat. It is so irregular and uncertain, that it is impossible to tell one year where its channel may be the next. On one side, its left high bank can be traced from some twelve miles above Láhor, running in a south-westerly direction and winding considerably, by the Sará'e-i-Noh-Shahrah, and close to it, and between Wándarí, which lies twelve miles east of Sayyid-Wálah, and Hinjaráún, so called after

revolutionized the theories of Anglo-Indian strategists.” I find, however, that there are actually some who would like to take the credit of the discovery to themselves, and, probably, if I live long enough, I shall find some one claiming to have made the discovery, just as the Síáh-posh Káfirs of the Káfiristán have been “discovered” over and over again, since I gave an account of them in the “*Journal*” for 1859.

Since I wrote about this route, it has been surveyed, and part of the Kāndahár force returning to India followed it—the detachment under the command of Sir M. Biddulph, K. C. B. I shall probably give the account of the expedition in full shortly, but more respecting the route will be found in a subsequent Section of my “NOTES,” page 546, which see, further researches having thrown additional light upon it. In that same Section of my “NOTES,” I also pointed out a direct road to Kāndahár from the Derah-ját farther north, by which a line of Railway might easily be carried, and that road is now I find, being surveyed. Better *late* than *never*.



a tribe of Hindú Jaṭs, down to within a couple of miles of Sath Garḥ<sup>359</sup> on the south. Continuing to run from thence with a very tortuous

<sup>359</sup> This place in Blochmann's printed text is *سَدِ كَرَاهِ*—Sad-Kharah, but, correctly, as above, was the chief place of a *maḥáll* of that name in the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *śúbah*, which *sarkár* contained four Do-ábahs, and the Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab. At the time Abú-l-Fazl wrote his *A'in-i-Akbarí*, there were 59,448 *bígahs* of land under cultivation, the revenue amounted to 3,551,230 *dáms*, and free grants existed to the amount of 20,972 *dáms*. The inhabitants of the *maḥáll* were Balúchís and Khaṛ'l Jaṭs, who were assessed as able to furnish 300 horsemen, and 4000 foot for militia purposes.

At the time of the Survey I have been quoting from in this paper, Sath Garḥ is mentioned as lying just midway between Fath-púr, Ghugherah, and Sher Garḥ, near the dry channel of the Ráwí, and as being, in former times, the chief place of a sub-district, but now, for the most part, in ruins, and in the possession of a Sikh named Wazír Singh, who also held Hurappah.

Though of little consequence in other ways, it is somewhat so in an historical point of view.

Colonel Macgregor in his "Gazetteer," and Mr. A. W. Hughes of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, the compiler of "a Gazetteer of Sind," and another of "Balochistan," quote a wonderful history of the Balúchís from a "Report" by Mr. R. Brace, C. S., respecting a petty chief of a section of the Rind clan of that people, named Chákar. According to this "history," after the Balúchís had settled in Kalát and Kachchhí, a feud arose between Chákar, and Raḥmán, a Lishárí chief of the same race. "They collected their armies," says the "Report," a battle ensued and the Rinds were defeated with the loss of 700 killed. On this, "Mír Chákar sent for assistance to Súltan Sháh Húsén, King of Persia, who sent an army under the command of Zamí to his aid."

Unfortunately, such a Sháh of Persia never existed, and such a leader as "Zamí" is unknown to fame. They have managed to mix up here the name of the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, Sháh Husain.

Then comes a still more wonderful piece of history, that, "After Mír Chákar had committed the country to the care of his lieutenants, it appears that he, with a number of his followers, joined the standard of Hamáyún Sháh in his attempts to recover the kingdom of Hindústán, and went with him to Dehli. Other reports say that he took Dehli from Hamáyún Sháh, and afterwards tendered his submission."

Subsequent to Humáyún Bádsháh's return from Persia, after obtaining aid from Sháh Thamásib, his defeating his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, and his final advance from beyond the Indus into Hindústán for the recovery of his empire, the "Report" informs us, that "he had a large army," and that "it is very probable that he may have returned through the Bolán Pass, and been joined by the Rinds under Mír Chákar."

I do not think there is any "History of India," however poor, that does not clearly show that the Bádsháh did not return by the Bolán Pass; and, certainly, he was not joined on the way by "the Rind army," nor Chákar's "lieutenants."

Added to this "history," we have some Balúch Ballads translated by Mr. L. M. Dames, C.S., which appeared in the "Journal" for 1880; and from these more "history" of the same kind is adduced. There Chákar "is said to have founded a kingdom [like "the kingdom of the Náhars," the "Sitpur kingdom"] with its capital

course, in the same general direction as before, its bank in some places much more defined than in others, it runs close to Hurappah on the *Sevi* (*Síbt*), and to have waged war with *Humáú Chughattá*," for Chákar was "a godlike man," and chief of the "lofty Ghulám Bolak Rinds."

Mr. Dames adds that "it is difficult to say how far any part of Chákar's adventures are historical;" and he quotes "Brigg's *Ferishta*," and "Erskine's *Babar*" to show that "the irruption of the Baloches into the Panjáb, about 1520 A. D., was probably caused by the pressure on them of the Turks or [*sic.*] Mughals who were then under the Arghúns invading Kachhí and Sindh."

More "history" of this kind is given in "Griffin's *Panjaub Chiefs*." The Panjáb Government "invited" all the chiefs of tribes to send in an account of their ancestors, and descent of their tribes; and the result is contained in that work. It can be imagined how the chiefs drew the long bow, what glowing accounts they gave, and what noble or royal descent they gave themselves and their tribes.

Fortunately for historical truth, I can show "how far Chákar's adventures are historical," and also the nature of the "history" adduced respecting that "god-like man."

Mírzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal, son of Sháh Beg Khán, the conqueror of Sind, determined, at the instigation, it is said, of Bábar Bádsháh, to make war on the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, but before doing so, he determined to coerce the refractory Balúchís in the northern and western part of his territory, around Síwí and parts adjacent. With a body of 1,000 cavalry, he made a forced march from Bakhar by way of Chatar and Lahrí, and came upon the Rinds and Bughtís, overthrew them, made many captives, reduced them to submission, and brought back their head men along with him to Bakhar. This was in 930 H. (1523-24 A. D.).

He then set out on his expedition against Multán in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.); and a force composed of Langáh Jaṭs, Rinds, Dúdá'ís, and other Balúchís, Chándiyahs, Nághars, and others, to the number of about 80,000 men, awaited him on the banks of the Ghárah to dispute his crossing. Sultán Maḥmúd, Langáh, had only made one march from Multán to join this army, when he suddenly died, said to have been poisoned by his son-in-law, the Shaikh, Shujá'-ud-Dín, Bukhári, while some say he was poisoned by a house-hold slave, named Lashkar Khán, and this great army melted away.

The Langáh Jaṭs, whom such "history" writers will persist in turning into Afgháns, now set up the young son of Sultán Maḥmúd; and came to an accommodation with Mírzá Sháh Husain, "by ceding to him all the Multán territory south of the Ghárah, which river was to be the new boundary."

Soon after this, in 933 H. (1526-27 A. D.), the affairs of Multán became utterly disordered: the chiefs of the late Sultán refused to submit to the young ruler, he being a mere puppet in the hands of the Shaikh, and they invited Mírzá Sháh Husain to take possession of Multán. He set out in the same year; and on the 15th of Rabi'-uṣ-Ṣání, 933 H. (January, 1527 A.D.), captured Multán, in which the supporters of the Shaikh and the young Sultán had shut themselves up. The place was completely sacked, numbers of those found within were put to the sword, and the remainder enslaved. The Wazír Shaikh and the Sultán were cast into prison, and there they died, the latter after a nominal reign of one year and eight months; and the Langáh Jaṭ dynasty, which arose out of a fraud, terminated at the end of twenty-seven years.



south ; and between this its left high bank and the right high bank of the B<sup>í</sup>áh, but six miles of elevated plateau or *ḍhaiyá* (subsequently to

For some time previously they had lost all their territory north of the Ráwí. Jám Báyazíd, the Sammah, a member of the ruling family of Sind ousted by the Arghúns, who had taken shelter in the Langáh territory, and had become its Wazír, rebelled and retired to Shor Kot, and appropriated that part (equivalent to the present Jhang district or nearly so), and tendered fealty to Daulat Khán, Lodí, governor of the Láhor province on the part of the Afghán Sultán, Sikandar, Lodí, of Dihlí.

From the period of the usurpation of the Langáh Jaṭs over Multán, numbers of Balúchís had come thither from the farthest parts of the Balúchistán, from Kích and Mukrán, and took service with them, receiving large grants of land in lieu of pay, and among these was Malik Suhráb, the Dúdá'í Hút. About the period that Jám Báyazíd rebelled, a feud having arisen between one division of the Rinds of which Chákar was the head, and other Balúchís, in which the Rinds came worst off, Chákar, finding the neighbourhood of Síwí too hot for him—not the fortified town of that name, but lands dependent on it—left it, and came with his two sons, Allah-Dád and Sháh-Dád (the latter is said to have first introduced the Shí'ah doctrine into Multán), to seek service with the Langáhs, but finding no chance of employment there, he went to Shor Kot, to Jám Báyazíd, who took him into his service, and out of his fief, assigned him a *já-gír* in lieu of pay. This *já-gír* was at Sath Garh on the Ráwí, and there he took up his residence with his people. See note 361, page 366.

After Humáyún Bádsháh had to abandon his kingdom, and retired to Láhor in 947 H. (1540-41 A. D.), followed by Sher Khán, of the Sor sub-division of the Afghán tribe of Lodí, who had assumed the sovereignty and title of Sher Sháh, the Bádsháh retired into Sind. Sher Sháh while in the Panj-áb selected the site for the fortress of Ruhtás, which was "To be a spike in the breast of the Gakhar tribe"; and shortly after, in 949-950 H. (1542-43 A.D.), he left the Karlární Níazí Afghán, Haibat Khán, as governor of the whole Panj-áb, and directed him to free the territory from the rebel Balúch, Fath Khán, Hút, who had possessed himself of Kot Kabúlah during the distracted state of the country after the downfall of the Langáhs, raided the Lakhí Jangal district, and devastated all the country round, and as far east as Pání-paṭ; to free Multán territory altogether from the Balúchís, who had seized upon it, and re-people the desolated city of Multán, whose inhabitants had now entirely deserted it.

Immediately on receipt of these orders, Haibat Khán, Níazí, sent for the Wakíl of Chákar, the Rind; for now he held his *já-gír* from the Afghán governor of the Panj-áb, to which government he owed military service, and said to him: "Go thou to Malik Chákar, the Rind, and intimate to him that I shall be coming into his district immediately, and let him see that the men of his *já-gír* are ready for my inspection." The author from whom I take this extract (confirmed by other writers), 'Abbás, Sarwární, in his "Tárikh-i-Sher Sháh-í," says: "I heard from the lips of Fath Khán, Kambú, that, when the Wakíl presented himself to Chákar he was dumb-founded; for as yet, no preparation had been made for the purpose, or the reception of the Khán. On the second day after, news came that Haibat Khán had arrived within twelve *kuroh* of Sath Garh. Chákar now became alarmed, and said: 'I have not mustered my followers, nor made preparations for it. What shall I do!' and he was in a great way. Next morning a scout of Chákar's came in, and

be noticed in the account of the last-named river), intervenes. From Hurappah it passes close to Chíhawaṭní on the south, thirteen miles

intimated that the Khán had arrived; and all Ohákar could do was to ride forth to receive him, in a very disturbed state of mind. As soon as Haibat Khán perceived him, he said: 'I will not inspect your followers now, but will do so at Debál-púr,' his object being, lest Fath Khán, the Hút Balúch, should, in case he delayed at Sath Garh, take himself off; and so Ohákar, to his great relief, was dismissed." Haibat Khán continued his march to the Pák Pattan of the Kuṭb-i-'Álam, the Shaikh, Faríd-i-Ganj-i-Shakar; but Fath Khán, alarmed, had fled [Ohákar, doubtless, informed him in time], but Haibat Khán pursued him, and came up with him near Fath-púr of Kuhror [about twenty miles east of Kuhror]. He had no chance of escape from Haibat Khán, as he had his family, and those of his followers, with him. He therefore threw himself into the mud-built fort there, and sought shelter therein. It was immediately surrounded; and after he had held out for a day or two, Fath Khán got the Shaikh Ibráhím, the descendant of Shaikh Faríd, to intercede for him; and he came out and presented himself before Haibat Khán. The latter told the Shaikh, that he was himself only a servant of the Sháh, and that whatever his commands might be he must carry them out, so Fath Khán was allowed to return to the fort pending the orders of Sher Sháh. He shortly after managed to escape, however; for one night, chiefly through the efforts of a faithful follower, Mando by name, Fath Khán, at the head of 300 men, made a sudden rush upon the guards, overpowered them, and got off. The Afgháns on entering the place, found that they had butchered nearly all the women and children before they left. Bakhshú, the Langáh, afterwards captured Mando, and brought him bound to Haibat Khán, and shortly after, Fath Khán was taken. Haibat Khán proceeded to Multán, having collected the remaining inhabitants, who had long before dispersed to various places, and set about re-peopling and repairing the place. Fath Khán, Hút, and Mando, by command of Sher Sháh, were hanged.

For these distinguished services Sher Sháh conferred upon Haibat Khán the title of *Masnad-i-'Alá*, *'Aẓam Humáyún*—that is "The Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of Dignity], the most August," a title which had been conferred twice before by the Afghán sovereigns on their nobles. He was also assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereigns had hitherto been permitted to use." This was in 950 H. (1543-44 A.D.)

Sher Sháh directed the *'Aẓam Humáyún* not to make any alterations in the assessments, but to observe the rules and usages of the Langáhs, and to take the revenue in kind. The latter, leaving Fath Jang Khán, Kanbú (or Kambú: it is correct both ways, the person referred to above) in charge of the Multán province, returned to Láhor. Fath Khán, Kanbú, brought it into a flourishing condition once more, and founded therein a town which he named Sher Garh."

This place is still in existence, situated close to the right high bank of the Bíáh, some twenty miles to the south-eastwards of Sath Garh. These people under the "official name" of *Kambohs*, still hold a good deal of land in that locality.

That "god-like man," the "mighty Chakar Rind," the founder of "the kingdom of the lofty Gulám Bolak Rinds," disappears from the scene; but he continued to hold his *já-gír* at Sath Garh, and there died, and was buried. The Rinds, latterly, were much bullied by the Síáls. See page 338. There are more than "traces of *Biloches*" throughout the whole Panj-áb, particularly in the southern half of it.



and a half beyond which it makes a sudden bend to the northwards, then back again to a south-westerly direction, and runs towards Tulaubah, which it passes five miles to the south. From thence it runs in the direction of Multán as far as the point near which it used to unite with the Chin-áb, when that river passed on the east side of that city to join the Bíáh, and which is about fifteen miles nearly due south of Sidhú kí Sará'e. In the space between this left high bank and the present channel, between Chíchawaṭṇí and Tulaubah, are the remains of two or three other old channels in which it has flowed at different times, but now partly obliterated.

On the opposite side, in the present Rachin-áb Do-ábah, its extreme high bank can be distinctly traced beginning from about twenty-nine miles to the westwards of Láhor, running in the direction of about south-south-west along the skirt of the Sándal Bár, farther west of which again is a part of the same Bár, extending from five to fourteen miles in breadth from west to east, and some eighteen miles from north-east to south-west, covered every here and there with mounds and hillocks, the sites of former towns and villages, and, in some places, with depressions. Patches of the same hard substance that composes the Chitr-áng Zamín, described farther on, also crop up here and there. These patches are described as “beds of kankar,” but the formation is, apparently, just the same as that of the Chitr-áng Zamín alluded to above.

Passing onwards from this in a direct line towards Ghugherah and

It will thus be seen, that out of Haibat Khán, the 'A'zam Humáyún (which last word, in this, as well as in the Bádsháh's title, means august, fortunate, etc.) the writers have produced “Humáú Chowghutta,” and “Hamáyún Sháh” meaning of course Násir-ud-Din, Muḥammad, Humáyún Bádsháh [he was a Barlás Mughal by descent, one of the ulúsis of Chaghátáe Khán], with whom “the mighty Chákar made war,” and even “took Delhi, from him,” but kindly restored it! How he “made war” upon the 'A'zam Humáyún, Haibat Khán, I have already shown above. As to “Hamáyún Sháh having very probably returned” to Hindústán “from Persia through the Bolan pass, and been joined by Chákar Rind, and other Biloches,” any History of India, even “Ferishta,” or “Briggs” would show, was totally incorrect. Humáyún Bádsháh left Sind in August, 1543; in January, 1546, he returned from Persia, and recovered Kandahár; and it was not until *eleven years and a half after that*, that he set out from Kábul for Jú'e Sháh-í, then by a raft on the river of Kábul to Peṣ'háwar, crossed the Indus at Nil-Ab, and marched straight on Láhor, and from thence through the Jalhandar Do-Ábah, and Samánah, to Dihlí.

As to Chákar, the Rind, building the fort of “Seví (Síbí) and making it his capital,” is on a par with his capture of Dihlí. “A little history,” like “a little learning,” is “a dangerous thing.” See my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” etc., page 589, note ¶, and page 591, note \*

Fath-púr, it runs a little over eight miles to the westwards of Faríd-ábád, and nearly five west of Sayyid-Wálah; and about seven miles or thereabouts north-west of the first-named place, the Deg river runs in its channel. Hereabouts the bank is not so well defined, but, about four miles and a half west of Ghugherah, it becomes well defined again, and approaches within a mile and a half of Koṭ Kamálih<sup>360</sup> on the

<sup>360</sup> Cunningham (Ancient India, page 226) "identifies" this place, as "the first city captured by Alexander on his march from the junction of the Hydaspes (Jhílam) and the Akesines (Chenab)," but he does not tell us where the junction then was; and he also suggests a connection between the name Kamálih and the Malli. He also provides a place for "Harapa" [Harappah] as "most probably, the city against which Perdikkas was detached because of the mention of marshes," but there are, or were, plenty of marshes round about, and near Multán, and also near Shor Koṭ, and scores of other places. In the time of Sultán Bahrám Sháh of Ghaznín, Muḥammad Bahlím, the governor of these parts—the Panj-áb—having rebelled, the Sultán marched against him in 512 H. (1118-19 A.D.) and defeated him on the confines of Multán, "the Almighty having rewarded Muḥammad Bahlím for his base ingratitude, and he, and his ten (some say two) sons, together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass, so that no trace of him and them remained." It does not follow, however, that Harappah was the place.

With regard to Kamálih, or Koṭ Kamálih, I may mention that *kamál* is not Greek, but an 'Arabic word, and that the name of this place is derived from the Musalmán name of its founder, Kamál-ud-Dín, a Khaṛ'í chief. He may have founded it on an older site, and a town may possibly have been in existence there in the time of Alexander's campaign, but there is a vast difference between probability and "identification." How many times has the Ráwí changed its course since that time?

The direction taken by Alexander against the Malli, and the situation of their territory, as described by the historians of his campaigns, depends entirely upon where the Hydraotes [Ráwí] united with the Acesines [Ohin-áb] at that period. Where the junction took place shortly before the appearance of the 'Arabs in Sind and Multán has been already related. See also note 192, page 244.

The Malli are said to have occupied the country between the lower part of the courses of the Hydraotes and Acesines, and also the district beyond the Hydraotes. What plainer description can be desired to show that the lower part of what in comparatively modern days was called the Raḥín-áb Do-ábah, in part of the Sándal Bār, the Gondal Bār, and part of the Ganjí Bār adjoining it in the Bári Do-ábah is meant, even according to the most ancient courses of the rivers that we know of. That the greater part of the tract in question was above the place of junction of the two rivers is clear, because it is stated, that the troops were landed below the confluence of the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Ohin-áb] on the right [west] bank of the latter, that is, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and were directed to march down stream, on that side, at certain intervals of time, in divisions, *to the point of junction of the Acesines [Ohin-áb] with the Hydraotes [Ráwí]*; and the fleet was ordered to be conducted thither also. In the time of the 'Arabs, this junction took place about twenty miles north-east of Multán, but in Alexander's day it probably took place, to judge from the most ancient channels, much higher up, and between Sidhú kí Sará'e and Shor Koṭ, but nearer to the latter place.



north, and then makes a sudden bend to the north-west as far as  $30^{\circ}52'$  N. L. to within sixteen miles of Shor Kot, and within fourteen miles of

Alexander, himself, however, before they set out, advanced laterally from the left [east] bank of the Acesines [Chin-áb], that is, into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and encamped near a small stream which skirted the western edge of the desert [*bár?*] that intervened between the upper settlements of the Malli upon the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and came to a halt for a short time. This stream, no doubt, refers to one of those *nahrs*, or old canals, as they are supposed to be, still to be traced in the present Jhang district. After marching the remainder of that day and all night, at dawn, he arrived before the Malli strong hold, the march across the desert [*bár?*] having *exceeded twenty-five miles*. He was still in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but it is not said in what direction his march lay, but, it may have been in a south-easterly direction, or even more towards the east from the context, and the time it subsequently took to convey him to the confluence of the two rivers, after he was wounded, and that depends on where that confluence was. The distance mentioned, if he marched south-east from the ancient bed of the Chin-áb, would have brought him to the northwards of where Kot Kamálíah now stands, if not to within four or five miles west of Samandar, on the road from Mnglíánah to Ghugherah. Wherever it was, the people were taken by surprise, and their city and fortress stormed.

Curtius differs here from the other writers. He says the people had determined to make a vigorous defence, and had chosen a commander out of the Oxydracæ; that he was an expert soldier, and had pitched his camp *at the foot of a mountain*, causing fires to be lighted to a great distance, that his army [the undisciplined inhabitants] might appear more numerous, and kept up cries and uncouth howlings, etc; and that as soon as it was light, Alexander moved to attack them in battle array, but, the barbarians for some reason *fled to the mountains*, pursued by Alexander, but to no purpose, except capturing their baggage.

Where is there a mountain to be found within ninety miles of either of these places, or even a hill nearer than the Kiránah Hills and their off-shoots, at Chandaní-ot, and near Sángalá Tall?

According to Arrian and the other accounts, the most important places were evacuated, and the inhabitants fled for refuge to the dense *jungals* beyond the Hydraotes [in the Ganjí Bár, in the Bárá Do-ábah, dense *jungals* still exist]. After a short repose the Greeks continued their advance and reached the Hydraotes, while the Malli were still crossing [into the Bárá Do-ábah]. Their rear guard was cut up, but the main body of the Malli took refuge in a strong fortified city, which was stormed by a part of the forces sent against it. Then Alexander crossed to the left bank [east, and thus entered the Bárá Do-ábah once more. The first occasion was when his troops mutinied], and reached a Bráhma town, which was also captured.

Curtius says, that the city was the city of the Oxydracæ, and Strabo says, it was the city of the Sydracæ. The Malli evacuated all the chief cities [what a number of *cities!*] lying on the left [east] bank of the river Hydraotes; and Alexander re-crossed to the right [west] bank [back into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah again] they, the Malli, having concentrated all their forces there. Autumn was far advanced, so the river was low, and having re-crossed it, he attacked them. They were overthrown, and fled for shelter to a neighbouring fortress. It being late in

one of the ancient channels of the Chin-áb. It then turns abruptly from north towards the south for seven miles, and then turns west

the day, the attack upon it was deferred till the following day. This was the place where Alexander was so badly wounded in storming it. Where this fortress might have been I cannot say, but it was in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, not far from the then banks of the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and somewhere to the northward of Koṭ Kamáliah, or between that place and Samandar, or even farther north near the old channel of the river shown in the general map. No 1.

Masson considers "Túlumba" to have been "the capital of the Malli, which could not be Multán"; and respecting this last remark there cannot be the shadow of a doubt: Multán was too far south, as the other subsequent operations show. Masson also, contrary to others, considers "Kamália" was the site of the fortress where Alexander nearly lost his life; and he dwells upon the marsh near it as a proof. This, however, is neither proof nor clue; for there are marshes in several other places in these parts: the distance given of the length of the march is the best. Masson also identified "Haripah" [Hurappah] as Sángalá, in which, of course, he was totally wrong; for Sángalá Tall lies eighty-four miles to the northwards of Hurappah, but, as regards Koṭ Kamáliah, he is certainly in the right neighbourhood, although too far south perhaps.

Vincent ("Voyage of Nearchus") says, that "the fortress where Alexander was wounded, was not the Malli capital [not "Moultan," as he writes it]; for it is certainly on the *north* of the Hydraotes as Moultan is on the *south*" But, in another place, he spoils his, by chance, correct statement, by adding, that "the Caspiri on the Rhuadis ought to be Moultan on the Ravee," etc.

After stating all I have noticed above, the Author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," like others who have written since, supposes, that "the Malli are represented by the modern inhabitants of Moultan, and Outch of the Oxydracæ;" as he says the former [*i. e.*, "Moultan"] is on the left bank of the Acesines [Chin-áb], with the cognate city of Mulban [sic] between the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Hyphasis [Bíáh], and Outch lower down, not far from the confluence of the Hyphasis and Acesines. Here he has been guided, it will be seen, *by the courses of the rivers as they now flow*, and as those places are *now* situated, but it was not so *then*; and he has mistaken the Ghára for the Hyphasis, which referred to the Bíáh alone. The descriptions given by the Greek writers clearly show, that all these operations took place in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, in whatever direction they may have flowed at that period, and chiefly on the banks of the latter, eighty miles north-east of Multán, and nearly double that distance north-north-east of Uchchh.

We next come to the descent of the Hydraotes [Ráwí]. As soon as Alexander could be removed, he was taken down the Hydraotes to the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-áb] where was the standing camp, and where the vessels of his fleet were directed to assemble. At the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and perhaps for a considerable time previously, the confluence was about twenty miles to the north-east of Multán.

It occupied four days to convey Alexander down the river Hydraotes to its confluence with the Acesines; and there the grand army and fleet had already arrived. While his wounds were healing, new vessels were being built. Near the confluence was a large *banyan* tree, below which according to Aristobulus, fifty



again, its bank well defined, with a slope of some forty degrees, the ground here and there covered with hillocks, to within fifteen miles north of Tulaubah, and runs in the same westerly direction, the bank becoming less distinct, towards the former bed of the Chin-áb near Sidhú kí Sará'e on the north, where they used to unite. Subsequently, when the Ráwí deserted the Bíáh to unite with the Chin-áb, the united streams then passed on the west side of Multán instead of on the east; but, even now, the Ráwí shows a liking for this old channel—the most

horsemen could at the same time be shaded from the sun; and Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, mentions trees at the confluence in question, with their boughs bent downwards, of a size that four hundred horsemen might take shelter at mid-day beneath the shade of a single tree. The author of the "Life" above noticed, says: "It might be worth while ascertaining, as connected with the age of this species of tree, whether there be one of great size and apparent antiquity in this vicinity." I have before noticed the great *Bohar* or *Banyan* tree near one of the old confluences of the Hydaspes and Acesines, but not of the latter with the Hydraotes, at page 334. After this, Alexander sailed down the three united rivers to their junction with the Indus, where he was joined by some vessels built at other places on the latter river. This mention here of the confluence with the Indus shows, that Curtius' statement of the Indus being the third river uniting at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines near the fortress there, to be an error. "Here (at the confluence of the Indus and the three united rivers, the Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes) Alexander ordered a city to be built, and naval docks to be constructed, as it was a spot, in his estimation, well calculated to become the site of a powerful city," but, as the upshot shows, he could not have chosen one worse. See page 299. After this we are told that he came down to the country of the Soghdi, which name, the author of the "Life" supposes, "they derived like their northern namesakes, from the great vale occupied by them," but he does not tell us why the Tájzík word سغد—*sughd*—should be used in a Hindú country in preference to a Sanskrit word, such, for example, as सुखद—*sukhd* or *sukhad*, meaning 'salubrious,' 'pleasant,' etc. The former word means 'a depression where rain water collects,' and 'the name of a city in a great depression near Samr-ḡand.' Tod says (*Rajast'han*: Vol. I, p. 93), that, "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert," and that, "the Sodas are the Soghdi." Cunningham, on the other hand, says (p. 254), "The Soghdi or Sodræ, I would identify with the people of Seorai," the actual position of which he says, "is unknown." "Síw-rá'í or Síw-rá'hí is well known: a *maḡáll* of the Multán sarkár, and lies about five miles above Sabzal Kot N-N-E. "The elephants had been repeatedly ferried across as the nature of the country favoured their movements. [The Indus must have been a smaller river then in comparison with what it afterwards became to have enabled this to be done] "They were now transferred," it is said, "to the right [west] bank of that river for the last time; and Craterus, with them, advanced through the country of the Arachosii and Drangæ," of whom Arrian makes the Indus the eastern limit.

Here, it will be noticed, that the Hypanis [Bíáh] and the Hakrá or Wahindah which latter great river as certainly existed at that period as the others, have been passed over without the least notice whatever.

ancient that we know of, except that in which it flowed when Chach attacked Multán, and afterward Muḥammad, the 'Arab commander—and in flood-time some of its water still finds its way into it, or did, at least, a few years since.

The change last mentioned appears to have taken place at the time of, or to have been brought about through the effects of, the great flood which devastated the northern part of the Panj-áb territory, which will be again noticed; and this appears to have been the course of the river when Amír Tímúr crossed the Chin-áb below its confluence with the Bihat near Shor Kot,<sup>361</sup> and the Ráwí opposite Tulanbah on the north, and encamped before it. From thence he passed on to the

<sup>361</sup> Some additional light is thrown on the courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb in the accounts of the raids of Mír 'Alí Beg, the Mughal, from the direction of Kábul.

During the disturbed state of the Dihlí kingdom subsequent to the death of Khizr Khán, when his son, Sultán Mubárah Sháh, succeeded, Shor or Shor Kot played a conspicuous part from its situation.

Sultán Mubárah Sháh, succeeded his father in the fifth month of 824 H. (June, 1421 A.D.), and withdrew allegiance from Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, Bahádur Khán, son of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, which his father had faithfully observed from the time Amír Tímúr conferred upon him the territory of Multán and Debál-púr, and had never assumed the title of Sultán, which his son now took.

This act soon began to bear fruit. In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.), the Mír, 'Alí Beg, son of Dánish-Manchah, a descendant of Chaghataé Khán, son of the Chingiz Khán, who was the Ná'ib or Deputy of the Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, son of Sultán Sháh Rukh, who had been made the feudatory of Kábul, Zábul, and the territories bordering on both sides of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. with Sultán Sháh Rukh's sanction, threatened an invasion of Siw-istán and Bakhar of Sind, but it did not come about. This Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish is the personage respecting whom, Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Indian Historians," has made such a sad error. He styles him (Vol. IV., p. 59) "Shaikh 'Alí, lieutenant of the prince the son of *Sar-'atmash*." Another writer calls him "*Suyurgutmish*."

Sultán Mubárah Sháh, on this, directed Malik Maḥmúd, son of the 'Imád-ul-Mnlk, the then feudatory of Láhor, to put the defences of Multán, which had become greatly dilapidated, consequent on the repeated Mughal inroads during many years, in order; and he rebuilt the fortifications anew from the foundations.

In 833 H. (1429-30 A.D.), during the time that Jasrath, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, which latter had died some short time before, was in rebellion, and keeping the whole of the eastern Panj-áb and adjacent parts in disorder, the Sayyid, Salim, feudatory of Tabarhindah [in Elliot, IV, 68, the editor inserts "*Sirhind*," to let us know, perhaps, that they are both one and the same place, which they are not], and an old and trusted servant of Khizr Khán for thirty years, who had amassed a great wealth, died. On this, Folád, a Turk slave of the Sayyid, seized all his property—instigated by one of the late Sayyid's sons, who were at the Dihlí court, it is said—and also upon Tabarhindah for himself. A force was sent against him; and, after some time, being reduced to straits, Folád sought aid from Mír 'Alí Beg, the



banks of the *Bíáh*, and crossed it by means of boats, and some of his troops by swimming, as already related in the account of his expedition.

Mughal Deputy at Kábul (who now was acting for Mas'úd Mirzá, son of Mirzá Saiyúrgh-timish, who had died at Ghaznín in 830 H. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 364, and 578), promising him a large subsidy for his help. Nothing loth, he, with Sultán Sháh Rukh's permission, set out from Kábul in the fifth month of 834 H. (Feby. 1432 A.D.) towards Tabarhindah, plundering and devastating all the country he passed through until he arrived within ten *kuroh* of that stronghold. On this, Sultán Mubarak Sháh's general, Islám Khán, who, with his forces, had been investing Folád therein, had to raise the investment; and Folád paid Mír 'Alí Beg two *lákhs* of *tangahs* for his aid. Taking his family and effects along with him (including Sayyid Salím's wealth, probably), Folád proceeded along with Mír 'Alí Beg on his return to Kábul.

The latter moved by way of Jalhandar, and from thence towards Láhor, in the month of Rajab (the seventh month), and by Kaşúr and Debál-púr, devastating and plundering the country passed through; and the people of Khaṭ-púr [the chief place of the northernmost of the *maḥálls* of the Multán *shúbah* or province at that period, situated on the Ráwí and then in the Bári Do-ábah] he carried away captive. The 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajab, Nádirí, (by some called Muḥammad Hasan), the feudatory of Multán and Debál-púr, moved out of Multán to intercept him, and marched to Tulanbah.

On this, Mír 'Alí Beg fell back on Khaṭ-púr; and just at this time the 'Imád-ul-Mulk was directed to return to Multán. On the 24th of the eighth month of the above year he retired towards that place, on which Mír 'Alí Beg passed the Ráwí near Khaṭ-púr, and then, keeping along the line of the Jihlam (which the *Tárikh-i-Mubarak Sháh-í* says "is well known as the *Chin-áb*," meaning the united Jihlam and *Chin-áb*, but to which, in the extract from that work in Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 70, Mr. Dowson puts a foot-note, that "such is the extraordinary statement of the text, and Firishta copies it," only there is nothing extraordinary in it), he plundered the country as he proceeded, and afterwards turned round and marched towards Multán. This he could not have done had the rivers flowed then as now.

On his approaching within ten *kuroh* of that place, the 'Imád-ul-Mulk despatched Malik Sultán Sháh, the Lodí Afghán [uncle of Malik Bahlúl, who afterwards became Sultán of Dihlí, and was the first of the Paṭán or Afghán race who exercised sovereignty anywhere], at the head of his available troops, and followed himself, towards Jún-púr, a place I cannot now find. There an obstinate battle took place, in which Mír 'Alí Beg was victorious, and Malik Sultán Sháh was defeated and slain, and his troops routed. Mír 'Alí Beg then pushed on towards Multán, and appeared before Khaṭ-ábád, near that place on the Tulanbah side, on the 3rd of Ramazán (the ninth month) 834 H. (June, 1431 A.D.), and the next day attacked one of the gateways of the fort. Fighting went on daily in and around the suburbs until the 26th of the following month, when the place was relieved by a force from Dihlí, which attacked Mír 'Alí Beg and defeated him. He then withdrew to a fortified position, which he had enclosed with a mud wall for his troops and baggage; but, unable to hold that, he was obliged to retire across the Jihlam [the *Chin-áb* and Jihlam united], and, in so doing, he lost a great number of his officers and men drowned, killed, or taken prisoners; and with his brother's son, Mír

Since that again the Ráwí once more altered its course; and there can be no doubt whatever, that the old channel parallel to the present Muzaffar, and a mere remnant of his forces, he succeeded in reaching Shor. The history (*Tárikh-i-Alfí*) adds, that, “such a disaster had never before befallen any army under any reign.”

These movements tend to prove what I have noticed before (see page 279) that, at the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, and at the period here referred to, the junction of the Wihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb took place near to Shor or Shor Kot. See also page 331.

Mír Muzaffar was left to hold Shor, while Mír 'Alí Beg returned to Kábul, and the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who had followed in pursuit, invested Mír Muzaffar therein on the 4th of Zí-Ka'dah (the eleventh month), 834 H. (August, 1431 A.D.); but he was just after removed from the government of the Multán province, and Khair-ud-Dín Khán, Kháfí, succeeded him there. Great disorders arose in this part in consequence, and Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, again broke out. The result was, that Mír 'Alí Beg, in the following year, 835 H. (1431-32 A.D.), again appeared upon the scene, and advanced by way of Shor, then in his nephew's hands, and invaded the provinces of Multán and Láhor. All the country west of the Jihlam, and great part of that west of the Chin-áb, at this period, was outside the Dihlí territory, and was more or less subject to the Mughals, as all west of the Bíáh was when the “Ṭabáqat-i-Náṣirí” was written, and as shown by the number of Turkish names still existing in those parts. Mír 'Alí Beg carried his raids as far east as Sahrind [which is not Tabarhindah. “Sirhind,” also, is not the correct name of the former place]. Facing about, he again retired westwards, making the people of Khaṭ-púr captive, and those of the villages along the banks of the Jihlam; and on the 17th of Rabí-ul-Awwal (the third month), 835 H. (Dec. 1431 A.D.), again reached Tulanbah. There, by oaths and promises, he gained over the people, and then broke his agreement, and destroyed the fortress there, which was a very strong place (See note 246, page 279, and following note 247), and massacred many of its people.

Folád, the Turk, previously referred to, who when Mír 'Alí Beg retired defeated to Kábul had returned to Tabarhindah, now issued therefrom, invaded the territory of Rá'e Fírúz, the Ma'hín, one of the great Zamín-dárs of those parts, and slew him.

At this period Boh, also called Bohí, was a ferry over the Bíáh, the Sutlaj not having yet united with it, even temporarily.

Sultán Mubárak Sháh, consequently, had now to deal with Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, Mír 'Alí Beg, and Folád, the Turk. In Jamádi-ul-Awwal (the fifth month) of 835 H. (Feby., 1432 A.D.), he moved towards the Panj-áb to suppress these outbreaks. On his reaching Samánah, Mír 'Alí Beg beat a retreat, and retired to the Koh-i-Júd—the Salt Range—but the rebellion of Jasraṭh became still more formidable than before. This induced Mír 'Alí Beg to return in 836 H. (1432-33 A.D.), which he did by way of Shor once more. On this occasion he plundered and devastated the whole country along the line of the Bíáh (accounting for the numerous ruined places thereabout), sacked Láhor, and left 12,000 cavalry there to keep possession. He then plundered Sáe-Wál, and took Debál-púr. Again Sultán Mubárak Sháh advanced by forced marches and entered the Panj-áb to encounter him, and reached Debál-púr. From thence he moved to the Ráwí, upon



left bank on the south, which extends from a little south of Sayyid-Wálah down to within six miles west of Hurappáh, where it approaches close to the present channel, is, as its name clearly indicates, namely Súkh Ráwah,<sup>362</sup> the “Dry” or “Dried up Ráwah or Ráwí,” for it is known by both names. That old channel adjoining Siḍhú kí Sará’e on the west, and which, under the same name, runs down to within about three miles east of Multán, is not part of the old channel referred to above, but a more recent one: that in which it flowed when the Chin-áb united with it near Siḍhú kí Sará’e in 1695, and which it appears to have flowed in before it finally abandoned the Bíáh to unite with the Chin-áb.<sup>363</sup>

After that again, having met with some considerable obstruction above Tulanbah,<sup>364</sup> as its singularly winding course, and its sharp turns—south, west, and north again—indicate, or some other cause, it betook itself to that remarkable part of its present channel, known locally as

which Mír ’Alí Beg speedily retired towards Shor, followed closely by the Sultán, who crossed the main branch [sic] of the river Ráwí, and appeared before it. Mír ’Alí Beg again retired towards Kábul, still leaving Mír Muẓaffar, his nephew, to hold it. He held out for a month, when, finding he could not do so much longer, terms were agreed upon, that Mír Muẓaffar should send his daughter as a bride for the Sultán’s son, together with many valuable presents, and that the troops left by Mír ’Alí Beg at Láhor should evacuate that place. This effected, the Sultán set out to visit the tombs and shrines at Multán, and then returned to Dihlí. Shor, and the tracts to the north and west, still remained in the hands of the Mughals, until the time of the Langáh Jaṭ rulers of Multán, the second of whom, Sultán Husain, after much fighting, wrested the fortress of Shor out of the hands of Ghází Khán son of Saiydú Khán, and also the town of Chandaní-ot, held by Málík Máchhí, the Khokhar, for the same Mughal Khán. The territory of Shor was then conferred on Jám Báyzíd, of the family of the Sammah rulers of Sind, as before related. Sultán Husain’s wife was Báyzíd’s mother by a former husband. See pages 279—281, and 291.

<sup>362</sup> This, and the other old channel mentioned after, appear in our maps as “Sookhrawa N,” from which one would scarcely recognize the meaning.

<sup>363</sup> See page 355.

<sup>364</sup> Cunningham says, in his work (“Ancient India,” p. 223), that “the old town of Tulanba, is said to have been deserted as late as one hundred and fifty years ago, through changes in the course of the Ravi.” At page 225, however, he says it was deserted “three hundred years ago,” having told us on the previous page, that “the old town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred.” The preceding note 361 will show who destroyed the fortress and massacred the inhabitants. The place appears to have been in a flourishing condition when Mír ’Alí Beg attacked it.

Shahámat ’Alí states, that “the present old fort of Tulanbah is of comparatively modern construction, and was built to restrain the wild tribes of the Ganjí Bár.”

the Sidhú or Sidh Ná'e,<sup>365</sup> which runs in almost a straight line for some twelve miles, and without a turn, to near Sidhú kí Sará'e, where it united with the Chiu-áb. After that again, when the Chin-áb inclined more to the west, passed Chandaní-oṭ and Shor Koṭ on the west instead of the east side, the Ráwí, to rejoin it, made a fresh effort, and by a very tortuous course reached the depressed sandy tract near which the present junction takes place.

The land through which this Sidh Ná'e runs declines a little on the north or right bank the whole way, and is bounded within a short distance of the bank by a date forest;<sup>366</sup> while a belt of higher land fringes it on the south or left bank, but it soon melts into the lower tract adjoining it.

This is a mere general outline of the principal and greatest changes which have taken place since the time of the Arabs. I will not go back to "Alexander" and "Hweng Thsang"—for there is no doubt that the Ráwí, even more than some of the other rivers constituting the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, has changed more or less from one side

<sup>365</sup> The Ráwí in its last change before forsaking the Bíáh altogether, appears to have met with some considerable obstruction in its course westwards near Bakrá and Lál Káthiyah, as its winding struggles and turnings show, but more particularly north of Tulanbah, upon which, and in order to reach the depressed tracts towards the Chiu-áb, it betook itself, naturally, to the first depressed outlet in its way. This happened to be a canal which a former administrator, or farmer of the revenue, had cut to facilitate the irrigation of a part not within the influence of the annual inundations. This was carried towards the Sará'e of Sidhú, to near a point called Rám Chontarah, where the Hindús have a place of devotion, about two miles and a half east of Sidhú's Sará'e, and a little west of which it reached the Chin-áb again, which ran south-westwards towards the Bíáh, but a little nearer to Multán on the east side than it had previously done.

No traces of excavation having remained in after years to show that it had once been a canal, deepened and widened by the action of the river—for it would have been strange, if any signs had remained after a few inundations—and the fact of its being so straight, and running through some of the more elevated land in that locality, the Hindús (who greatly predominated over the Musalmán population in former times), at once attributed it to one of their deities, while the Musalmáns, more correctly attributed it to some Muhammadan ruler of bygone times. It does not seem to have struck any one that the same Sidhú, who founded a Sará'e, round which a little town sprung up, could also have had a canal excavated to bring water to it, and without the aid of demons, but such is the fact.

The Áb-i-Sind or Indus changed its course through a canal being in its way. See note 301, page 303.

<sup>366</sup> Date trees flourish along the Sidh Ná'e, and near and around the villages on the Chin-áb and the Ghára, in the Multán district, but, strange to say, are not found on the Ráwí and villages thereabouts. The natives ascribe the introduction of the date palm to the 'Arabs, and beyond the parts they reached it is not supposed to be found.



to the other and back again time after time; and thus to attempt to “identify” places along its present banks with others supposed to have existed more than twenty-two centuries ago, is so absurd as to require no further comment. Towards the lower part of its course, from the proofs still existing, it has flowed, at different times, over a tract of country from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth.

After passing *Sidhú kí Sará'e* the *Ráwí* turns to the northwards, and soon after towards the west, and finds its way by a very tortuous course into the depressed tract of country mentioned in the account of the *Chin-áb*, and in which the junction of the two rivers now takes place. At the present time there is a dense forest of *jand* trees (a species of *Acacia*) in this depression, which forest extends for a considerable distance southwards into the *Báří Do-ábah* in the *Multán* district; but only for a short distance, comparatively, in the opposite one, into the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah* of the district of *Jhang*. In the whole of this depression, which is seamed with old channels of the rivers, more or less distinct, water collects from the *uthár* or uplands on the *Jhang* side; and the waters of the *Chin-áb*, at the period of inundation, spread out for some miles below *Shor Kot*; while the lands within the influence of the inundation on the right bank of the *Ráwí*, are separated by a bank of considerable height from their *uthár* or uplands for some distance, and which is cut up by the twisting and twining of the river in its very irregular course. Below this high bank again is an extensive stretch of *hetár* or lowland, or *bet* as it is also called hereabouts, and of rough surface, being intersected by some of the old, deserted channels of the *Ráwí*, as the term *buddh* ‘old,’ ‘ancient,’ applied to them, indicate.<sup>367</sup>

When the river overflows its banks, from as far up as *Chíchawatní*, some fifty miles up stream, a vast tract is flooded; and the waters find their way as far as *Jalál-púr* in one direction, and as far down as *Ahmad-púr* of the *Síáls* in the *Sind-Ságar Do-ábah* on the other, and finally into the *Kandí-Wál dhand* or lake, fourteen miles lower down under the high bank of the *Thal*, and seven miles from the right or west bank of the *Chin-áb*.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>367</sup> Along the course of the *Ráwí*, as in the case of other rivers of this part, are numerous creeks or inlets, in some few of which, at times, a branch of the stream flows. They are rather numerous in this river; but, for the most part, are on a higher level than the cold season level of the stream, consequently, they are only filled by the rising of the waters. Afterwards, when the inundations subside, these retain some water, thus forming lakes or *dhand*s, here known as *buddhs*. See note 345, page 348.

<sup>368</sup> At times, in the cold season, now-a-days, the river becomes dry, or nearly so near *Chíchawatní*. This appears to be caused through drawing off a great deal, of water for irrigation purposes, by means of the *Báří Do-ábah Canal*.

THE BÍÁH—THE ANCIENT BIPÁSHÁ OR WIPÁSHAH.<sup>369</sup>

Abú-l-Fazl, in the *A'in-i-Akbarí*, says very little about this river, but mentions that its old name was Bipáshá (بیپاشا). The *Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh* says, "It passes Hindaun; and, after flowing beyond the villages dependent on Núr-púr, enters into the plain country of the Panj-áb. It then passes by Káno Wá-han (كانو و آهن),<sup>370</sup> where is the royal ferry, flows by Rahíláh; and below the town of Gobind-Wál and the bounds of Dih-Wál, near the *mauza*' of Loh (لوه) unites with the Sutlaj, after which it runs past Fírúz-púr and Muḥammad-oṭ.<sup>371</sup> Between this and Debál-púr, the united streams again separate into three branches, one of which is but a minor one. One of the two main branches turns towards the south, and is again known as the Sutlaj; while the other, which continues its course towards Debál-púr, retains the name of Bíáh. The intermediate or minor branch, known as the Dandah, passes by Kábúlah<sup>372</sup> [a little to the north of it], Khá'e Búlidhí, and north of Fath-púr, Kuhroṭ, and Lodhrán, towards Jalál-púr, when it again unites with the other two, and near which, after having flowed apart for near one hundred *kuroh*, the two main branches again unite into one stream, and receive the name of Ghallú-

<sup>369</sup> It was probably out of this word that the Greeks made their name of "Hyphasis."

The traditions current in the northern Panj-áb mention, what history confirms, that, until within comparatively recent times, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj ran separately as far down as the extremity of the Multán province. Another tradition mentions that near the extremity of the Siwálikh hills, in the sub-district of Do-súhah ("Doosooyuh" of the maps) of the Hoshyár-púr district, where a high, rocky ridge juts out into the plain, which ridge is known as *mandoí*, the river Bíáh, in ancient times, flowed immediately under.

<sup>370</sup> When Bábar Bádsháh crossed the Bíáh in 932 H. (November, 1525 A.D.) on his advance towards Mal-oṭ, also called Bhojpúr Mal-oṭ, it flowed close to Káno Wá-han, where its high bank is well defined still, but the Bíáh now flows nearly five miles farther east. Káno Wá-han is some thirteen miles to the north-westwards of the ancient town of Do-súhah. It appears in our maps as "Kanhwan"!

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note on the subject farther on.

<sup>371</sup> This place appears in the maps and Gazetteers as "Mumdot" and "Mam-dot." The termination is the same as that in the name of *Chandan-oṭ* or *Chandaní-oṭ* on the *Chin-áb*. The Hindí *اوٹ*—*oṭ*—signifying 'protection,' 'shelter,' 'covering' and the like, was, in this instance, affixed to a Musalmán's name. In Abú-l-Fazl's time, Muḥammad-oṭ belonged to the Khokhars (always mistaken for "Gickers," "Gukkurs," and so on) and Bhatís, hence the compound word; and it was the chief place giving name to one of the *mahálls* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *súbah*, as were, likewise, 'Álam-púr, Jalál-ábád Fírúz-púr, Lakhhi Kábúlah, etc.

<sup>372</sup> See page 296.



Gháraḥ<sup>373</sup> (گھارو گھارہ), which, in the tracts peopled by the Balúchís, joins the river containing the united Ráwí, Chin-áb, and Wihat, Bihat, or Jihlam, when the whole are known by the name of Sind—the Ab-i-Sind or River of Sind.”

This is a very important statement, referring, as it does, to the state of these rivers written by a native Hindú revenue official of the Panj-áb under the Mughal Government, just a century anterior to the Survey from which I have been quoting, and to which I shall presently return. This statement respecting the minor branch accounts for the existence of that considerable channel which may be traced from some twelve miles south of Debál-púr, and, a little to the north of Ḥawelí,<sup>374</sup> downwards by Ḳabúlah, and Mailsí of the Multán district, and which passes west of Fath-púr,<sup>375</sup> north of Kuhroṛ, and by Lohdrán. This statement also throws light on the rather obscurely expressed passage in Abú-l-Fazl respecting the three names which he says the Bíáh and Sutlaj were known by when they united, and so continued to flow for twelve *kuroh* to near Fírúz-púr.<sup>376</sup> No other writer than the author of the *Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáriḵh* gives such information respecting this intermediate branch, which is Abú-l-Fazl's Dand;<sup>377</sup> indeed, no others notice it.

My Survey record, just referred to, states, that “The river Bíáh rises in the *kohistán* of Bhúṭant (بهوتنت), and issues from a lake called Bíáh Kund. After flowing through a difficult mountain tract, and winding considerably, it comes from the eastward, and passes under Nadaun, the chief town and seat of government of that part. Then running in a general direction of about north-west, winding among the hills of the northern Panj-áb, and passing beyond the villages depen-

<sup>373</sup> According to Mackeson, in his account of the voyage down the Sutlaj with Captain C. M. Wade in 1832-33, Ghallú is the name of a tribe of Jaṭs, who dwell along the course of the Gháraḥ between Baháwal-púr and Miṭhan Koṭ in the present day.

<sup>374</sup> The “*Huvelee*” of the maps. This is the identical word noticed at page 335, note 325, where it is written “*Huwali*” in the maps. See also note 223, page 265 where it appears as “*Habeli*.”

<sup>375</sup> This place was the chief town of a *maḥáll* of the *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and like Kuhroṛ, the people were Joyahs, but are miscalled Júnahs in Blochmann's printed text of Abú-l-Fazl. Those of the first named *maḥáll* were rated at 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot, and the latter at 100 horsemen and 2,000 foot, for militia purposes. The Sayyid-zádaḥ *Khizr Khán*, afterwards ruler of Dihlí, held Fath-púr at the outset of his career.

<sup>376</sup> Consequent on this, the Fírúz-púr *maḥáll* was in the Berún-i-Panḥ Nad, or Extra Panj Ab division of the Debál-púr *sarkár*.

<sup>377</sup> See note 254, page 285.

dent on Núr-púr, it separates into several channels, issues from the hill tracts into the open country, and turns towards the south-west. It soon after bends more towards the south, then towards the south-west again, passes under Káno-Wá-han, near the hunting-grounds of the ancient rulers of Hind, and by Rahíláh, Jalál-ábád, Bairo-Wál, and Fath-ábád, and near the *ḵaryah* of Loh or Loh-Wál, unites with the Sutlaj, when the united waters obtain the name of Machhú-Wáh (مچھو والا) and Hariári. It is stated, that, in olden times, opposite the above-named *ḵaryah*, at a period when the Sutlaj flowed much farther eastwards in its old bed, the Bíáh separated into two branches, one of which having flowed past Ḷaşúr, Ḷabúlah, Khá'e, and the Hujrah of Sháh Muḵím,<sup>378</sup> passed at a distance of one *kuroh* north and west of the fort of Debál-púr, and much lower down again united with the Hariári. This branch still retained the name of Bíáh. The other branch, flowing towards the south, united with the Sutlaj,<sup>379</sup> which

<sup>378</sup> At the time of my Survey record being made, the last deserted channel of the Bíáh passed close on the north side of the Hujrah of Sháh Muḵím, which it says, "flowed on to Debál-púr, and was the source of the prosperity, and once flourishing state of this tract of country, but which became ruined and depopulated when it deserted this channel and united with the Sutlaj."

In the last century, the town surrounding the above-mentioned Hujrah was of considerable size, with a *bázár*. In the midst is the *hujrah*, closet, or cell, of the venerated Sayyid, Sháh Muḵím, giving name to the place. It is surrounded by an enclosure built of kiln-burnt bricks with a high dome over the cell. This place appears in the maps as "Hoojra," and in the Gazetteers as "Hujrá," which, of course, are meaningless as well as incorrect.

Farther south, adjoining the *ḵaṣbah*, is the shrine and tomb of another Musalmán saint, Lál Bahlúl, with a brick-built dome over.

<sup>379</sup> The *Tárikh-i-Yamíní*, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's expedition against Ḷinnaúj, mentions all the rivers correctly, and the Bíáh and Sutladar separately.

In the map appended to Professor Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde," the Bíáh and Sutlaj are made to run in ancient times precisely as they now flow. The Ghag-ghar is certainly made to run into, or rather its course is marked to, the "Sindhu" close to Miṭhan Koṭ, while the Hakrá, under the name of "ancient course of the Sindhu," which it never was, is made to leave the present channel just opposite Shikár-púr, to flow east of Alor and also of "Brahmanabad," but the names Mihrán of Sind, Hakrá, Wahindah, or Chitang, are never mentioned, nor does Debal or Dewal appear in his map, and yet all modern sites almost are "recognized," or "identified" by him for ancient ones. The whole tract of country extending from Bhaṭnír to "Amarakota" is styled "Marusthála (Maraubhûmi)," and U'chch appears as "Uk."

The errors, however, are the rule, not the exception. The Sutlaj has always been considered to represent the "Hypanis," or "Zaradrus" or "Zadadrus" of the Greeks, and the Bíáh (*vul.* "Bias") to be the "Hyphasis" of the same people; nevertheless, Dr. Phillip Smith, in his "Ancient History," Vol. II, page 75, tells us,



then flowed in its last independent channel. At the present time the Bính, or main branch, is closed, and dried up entirely, and, in consequence, the tracts of country around and dependent on Debál-púr<sup>380</sup> are reduced to a state of desolation."

that Alexander crossed "the Hydraspas (Jeloum)—meant for the Jihlam perhaps—the Acesines (*Chenab*), the Hydraotes (*Ravee*), and "the Hypasis (*Sutlej*), the last of the five rivers." So, it will be noticed, that he has but *four* after all, having left out the Bính altogether, one of the principle of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, and that he turns the Hyphasis, which others consider to be the Bính—and correctly so, no doubt—into the Sutlaj. This error seems to have been brought about through following the courses of the rivers as shown in the maps of the present day, and finding no *running* river called "Bias" in the direction required, because the map-makers *will style* the Hariári or Ghárah by the name of "Sutlej," whereas it is the combined Bính and Sutlaj that formed the Hariári or Ghárah, he at once adopted the "Sutlej." He subsequently traces all Alexander's movements to the mouth of the Indus according to the present courses of the rivers, as represented in modern maps.

He further tells us, that, "*Doab* signifies the space between each two rivers of the *Punjab*." However, I need scarcely tell those who have been in the East, that *doábah* in the Persian language, for it is a Persian word, means the delta between two rivers wherever they may be. He also supposes, that "Lahore" represents "*Sangala*" of the Greeks, in which he is also wrong. See note 390, page 380.

<sup>380</sup> Debál-púr, not "Dípalpur," in ancient times, was a place of considerable size, and the seat of government of the northern Panj-áb territory, after Láhor had been sacked by the Mughals as related in the "*Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*," page 1133, and it did not again become the capital for a considerable time. The author of the Survey record, who visited it towards the close of the last century, states, that, "from the time the Bính deserted it, it has gone to total decay and ruin. It has a fortress or citadel of considerable size and strength, built of kiln-burnt bricks, which is lofty and imposing viewed from a distance. It can be seen for some three *kuroh*. It is now in the possession of Jalál-ud-Dín *Khán*, an Afghán inhabitant of *Ḳaṣúr* [of the Daulatzí branch of the 'Umarzí *Khweshkí* Afgháns]. He holds the first with a small following amounting to one hundred horse and foot. The space between the four walls constitutes his territory; and, with the exception of a few *bígahs* of land at the foot of the walls, and tolls received from merchants and traders, he has no other revenue or means of support. Although Bhagwant Singh, and Wazír Singh, and other Sikhs, have each, at the head of numerous followers, at different times, invested him therein, they have had to retire without gaining their object.

"The dry bed of the Bính lies one *kuroh* distant on the right hand (north-west), and the Hariári flows away on the left (south-east) distant about nine *kuroh* or little more. On the way from the *Hujrah* of *Sháh Muḳím* a great *jangal* of *pílú* trees has to be traversed."

He relates the legend of the transmigration of Lalú-jas Rá'e, the *Agwání* or Precursor of the Hing-láj Bhawání, and that he has a temple there. I need not enter into its details, but I hope this "*Agwání*" will not be mistaken for an Afghán.

The old bed which the B<sup>í</sup>áh last flowed in as an independent river is sufficiently apparent; while others still more ancient, have, during the course of ages, as might be expected, become less defined, and some worn out or changed, consequent on the opening of canals or utilizing parts of the old beds for them. The breadth of country over which it has at different times flowed, now in one part, now in another, extends in most places from eight to ten miles, and, in some, to twelve.<sup>381</sup>

The physical features of the tract of country lying between the rivers R<sup>á</sup>wí, and the Hariári, Níli, or Ghárah, which names the B<sup>í</sup>áh and Sutlaj took, after their final junction, and about midway between which the old bed of the B<sup>í</sup>áh runs, is so peculiar that, before I proceed further in my account, I had better attempt to describe it.

I have before mentioned, that a plateau of some elevation—an elevated waste—separates the valley of the R<sup>á</sup>wí from that of the

Cunningham considers, from the old coins found hereabouts, that this town was in existence “in the time of the Indo-Scythians,” and is “inclined to identify it with the Diadala of Ptolemy [it certainly has the letter *d* in it, enough perhaps for identification], which was on the Satluj to the south of Labokla and Amakatis,” etc.; but, as he had previously “suggested the identity of Diadala with “*Dehli*,” we may easily dismiss it, more especially since Debál-púr never yet lay on the banks of the Sutlaj, which never approached nearer to it than at present. He probably meant the B<sup>í</sup>áh, and so it still remains.

In the time of Akbar Bádsháh, Debál-púr was the chief town of one of the three *sarkárs* of the Multán *shubah*, and the places dependent on it lay in three *do-ábahs*—“the Bíst Jalandhar, Bári, and Rachin-áb Do-ábahs,” and another division styled, Berún-i-Panch Nad, or outside the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, or Extra Panj Ab—and consisted altogether of twenty-nine *mahálls* (*parganahs* or sub-districts). The town and *maháll* are styled in the A’in-i-Akbarí, “Debál-púr Lakhhi, with a fortress of burnt brick.” The lands dependent on the *maháll* extended to 242,344 *bíghahs* and 11 *biswahs* under cultivation, assessed at 13,514,059 *dáms*, equal to 3 *lakhs*, and 37,851 *rúpís*, and 19 *dáms*; while the whole *sarkár* yielded 129,334,153 *dáms*, equal to 32 *lakhs*, and 33,353 *rúpís*, and 32 *dáms*. Out of the revenue of the Debál-púr *maháll*, 499,535 *dáms*, equal to 12,488 *rúpís* and a fraction, were free grants. The people were Jaṭs, Khokhars (not Gakhars), Kisús, and Bhaṭís; and they were liable to furnish, according to their tenures, 500 horsemen, and 7,000 foot for militia duties.

Great quantities of rice used to be produced here up to the time that the B<sup>í</sup>áh deserted its channel to unite with the Sutlaj at the close of the last century, and date palms flourished exceedingly. After the river deserted it, all went to ruin and decay.

<sup>381</sup> I had occasion, early in October, 1855, to cross from Tulanbah by Mían kí Pankí to Lúghan, and, of course, had to cross the old bed or rather beds of the B<sup>í</sup>áh. When I passed close to the high bank on the south, one of the beds was very broad, level as a bowling-green, covered with rich sward, and studded with fine, and handsome trees. I never saw anything in India that put me so much in mind of an English park scene as this did.



Bíáh (if such extensive tracts, here and there depressed, in which these rivers have flowed from time to time, can be called valleys), and this elevated tract extends from about twenty-one miles in breadth between *Ḳaṣúr* and *Láhor*, but decreases in one place, lower down, to about eight miles, but it soon increases again to about seventeen miles in breadth.<sup>382</sup>

This elevated plateau, which consists of a stiff, clayey surface, was capable of irrigation, and therefore of cultivation, by means of wells and water-cuts, of which there are numerous remains still to be seen, on the northern or *Ráwí* side in particular. This was before the *Ráwí* and *Bíáh* deserted these well-defined high banks; but who shall presume to say where they were, or whether they existed at all twenty-two centuries since, and what mighty geological changes have taken place in the interim?<sup>383</sup> On the south or *Bíáh* side, where the plateau rises abruptly from the surrounding country to the height of some twenty feet or more, it is about forty feet above the level of the country below, but it slopes gradually away towards the north or *Ráwí* side, the slope there being about half of what it is on the other, and in some places, where it rises abruptly from the plain, the height is about ten feet, and in some places only five.<sup>384</sup> The many and various signs of prosperity, in the shape of mounds covered with fragments of bricks and pottery, the sites of towns, villages, and fortified places,<sup>385</sup> clearly show that this, now totally waste, tract of country, was once in a flourishing state, and supported a considerable population. This tract forms part

<sup>382</sup> This elevated tract effectually prevented the *Bíáh* from following the other rivers in their inclination westwards, and hence it took a totally opposite course, and inclined eastwards and met the *Sutlaj* half way. See the heights of different places around given in note 387, next page.

<sup>383</sup> Volcanic action, and physical alterations have, in many places farther west, changed the courses of rivers in past ages, and certainly this part was not exempt from similar changes. I have mentioned the great flood in the northern parts of the *Panj-áb* territory; and this very part here noticed, from its geological formation, bears evidence of some such change in by-gone days. See note 307, page 305.

<sup>384</sup> This tract is locally known as the *ḍhaiyá*, signifying in *Hindí*, 'declivity,' 'slope,' 'fall,' etc. Combined with *tekar*, 'rising ground,' the compound word—*ḍhaiyá-tekar*—is used as an adjective to signify 'desolation,' 'ruin,' 'waste,' etc.

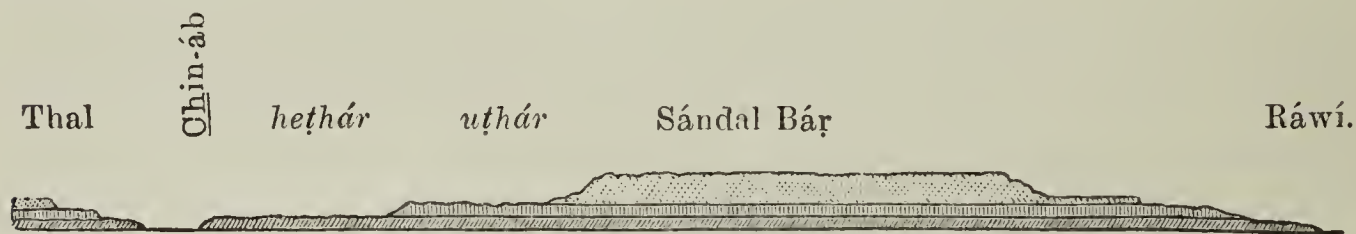
The crest of this *ḍhaiyá* forms great part of the *Ganjí Bár* previously noticed. In other districts it is also known as *ḍhah* and *náká*.

<sup>385</sup> Hence the absurdity of attempting to "fix" upon modern places as ancient sites, and "identifying" them with places mentioned by the Greeks.

Numerous ancient wells remain scattered over the *Ganjí Bár*, as well as in other now completely waste tracts in the *Bárá Do-ábah*, in the *Ghugherah* or *Montgomery*, and the *Multán* districts, but the water, at present, lies a considerable distance below the interior brickwork.

of what is locally called the *Ganjí Bár*, which latter word, in Hindí, signifies ‘edge,’ ‘margin,’ ‘verge,’ etc., but the people of these parts apply that term to uncultivated wastes generally, beyond the reach of water.

As in the elevated plateau called the *Sándal Bár* in the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*, already described, this stiff, clayey surface overlies a substratum, in the shape of a high, and rather barren strip of land beyond the influence of the yearly inundations, but capable of cultivation if irrigated artificially.<sup>386</sup> This is called *bánghar* in this part of the *Bárá Do-ábah*, *rohí* on the *Sutlaj*, and *uṭhár* or upland in the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*. After this again comes another belt, the last, known as *heṭhár* or “lowland” in the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*, and “bet,” “*khádar*,” and “*sail-ábí*” in other parts, as in the following diagram<sup>387</sup> of the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*.



<sup>386</sup> The *heṭhár* or ‘lowland’ of the *Chin-áb*, is called *bet* on the *Ráwí*, and *khádar* on the banks of the *Sutlaj*. Another name in the Persian language applicable to all, and generally used in official documents, is *sail-ábí*, that is, subject to the annual inundations. Then again, the *uṭhár* or ‘upland’ tract or belt on the *Chin-áb* is known as *bánghar* on the *Ráwí* and *Sutlaj*. The inundations never pass beyond its bank inland. These belts are again subdivided or distinguished locally by other names referring to the capabilities of these higher tracts for cultivation purposes. In some places, as near *Shor Kot* in the *Jhang* district, where several old channels of the *Chin-áb* and *Ráwí* exist, the *uṭhár* belt is wanting altogether, or lies at a considerable distance farther inland, but really, there is no high land hereabouts to stay the flood waters.

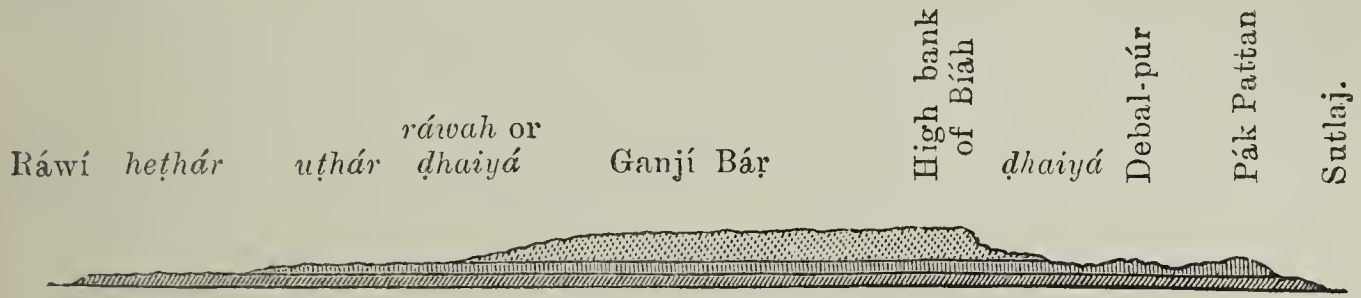
<sup>387</sup> These diagrams, of course, are not drawn to scale : they are merely intended to give some idea of the features of the tracts between the rivers, and make my explanations clearer.

A comparison of the heights of some of the places in these remarkable tracts between the *Chin-áb* and *Ráwí*, and between the *Ráwí* and the high bank of the *Bíáh*, and the *Hariári*, *Nílí*, or *Ghára*, constituting nearly the lower halves of the *Rachin-áb Do-ábah*, the *Bárá Do-ábah*, and *Chhotí Kachchí*, will illustrate these diagrams.

For example, if we run a line from, say, *Chandan-ot* or *Chandaní-ot* eastwards towards the *Hariári* in the direction of *Fírúz-púr*, we find that, while *Chandan-ot* is 831 feet above the sea level, the banks of the *Hariári*, near the point indicated, are just 200 feet lower. Going southwards, *Jhang*, which is just 570 feet above the sea, is 261 feet lower than *Chandan-ot*, but 80 feet higher than *Ghugherah*, which is but 490 ; while *Debál-púr*, near the ancient channel of the *Bíáh*, is 20 feet higher than *Ghugherah*, but 60 feet lower than *Jhang*, 321 feet lower than *Chandan-ot*, and 120 feet lower than the banks of the *Hariári* parallel to *Fírúz-púr*. Going



In some places, the slope of this high, central plateau or *bár*, marking the old high banks of the *Ráwí* and *Bíáh*, and constituting the greater part of what was, and still is, known as the *Bárí Do-ábah*,<sup>383</sup> namely, the tract of country between the two rivers referred to, is gradual from the high bank of the *Bíáh* towards the present course of the *Ráwí*; and below, towards the place of junction of that river with the *Chin-áb*, it melts imperceptibly into the lowland or *hethár* below the junction in the western part of the *Multán* district, as in the diagram beneath.



farther south again, *Shor Kot* is 10 feet lower than *Jhang*, 70 feet higher than *Ghugherah*, 60 feet higher than *Montgomery*, about 55 feet higher than *Hurappah*, and 50 feet higher than *Debál-púr*.

Then again, if we draw another line across from *Shor Kot* to *Ajúddhan* or the *Pák Pattan*, we find that that place, which at present is seven miles west of the *Hariári*, *Nílí*, or *Ghára*, is 56 feet higher than *Shor Kot*, and 106 feet higher than *Debál-púr* farther north, 126 feet higher than *Ghugherah*, and 116 feet higher than *Montgomery*; while *Ghugherah*, *Montgomery*, and *Debál-púr* are respectively, 70, 60, and 50 feet lower than *Shor Kot*.

Still farther south, *Sidhú kí Sará'e* is 170 feet lower than *Shor Kot*, 100 feet lower than *Ghugherah*, 80 feet lower than *Debál-púr*, 226 feet lower than the *Pák Pattan*, and 440 feet lower than *Chandan-ot*; while *Multán* is 88 feet above *Sidhú kí Sará'e*, which latter is 98 feet lower than *Ghugherah*, and 214 feet lower than the *Pák Pattan*.

Going towards the southern extremity of the *Bárí Do-ábah*, *Mailsí*, near the *Ghára*, is just 2 feet lower than *Multán*, but it is 10 feet lower than *Sidhú kí Sará'e* on the *Ráwí*; while *Shujá'-ábád* and *Lohdrán*, distant about six or seven miles respectively from the *Chin-áb* and *Ghára*, are both on the same level, being 380 feet above the sea, but 20 feet lower than *Mailsí*, and 22 feet lower than *Multán*. *Shujá'-ábád* and *Lohdrán*, consequently, are the lowest of all the places mentioned; and the difference between them and *Chandan-ot*, the highest of all, is 451 feet. It will also be noticed that the country round *Ghugherah* near the *Ráwí* is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues along the valley of the *Ráwí* to its present junction with the *Chin-áb*. The general slope of the tract of country herein embraced is southwards and south-westwards from *Chandan-ot*, and the greatest fall is from thence to *Shujá'-ábád* on one side, and from the *Pák Pattan* to *Lohdrán* on the other.

<sup>383</sup> This refers only to the tract of country between the banks of the *Bíáh* and the *Ráwí*, which is also called *Mánjhah* higher up. The lands on either side of the *Hariári*, *Nílí*, or *Ghára*, extending about five or six miles along either bank, is known as *Chhotí Kachchhí*, which, in the last century, extended down as far as *Uchchh*.

The high bank of the *Bíáh* is well-defined all the way down, especially from *Jalál-ábád* and *Fath-ábád*, above the present point of junction of the *Bíáh* and *Sutlaj* near *Harí ke Paṭan*; but, on the southern, right, or *Haríárí*, *Nílí*, or *Gháraḥ* side, after their junction, and thus forming that river, the plateau, from the high bank of the dry *Bíáh*, is much more abrupt, especially on the north-east side, some eighteen miles east of *Sayyid-Wálah*<sup>389</sup> in the direction of *Láhor*. From thence it is well defined all the way downwards as far as the supposed position of the *mauza'* of *Sháh Nawáz*, referred to in the account of *Amír Tímúr's* campaign, about seven miles north-east of *Dín Muḥammad ká Tibbah* (*vul.* "Tibba" and "Tibbee")—The mound or knoll of *Dín Muḥammad*—which name was still known towards the close of the last century, before the *Bíáh* and *Sutlaj* each deserted their own beds to unite midway and form this new river, the *Haríárí* or *Nílí*, as it is called in the upper part of its course, and *Ghallú-Gháraḥ* and *Gháraḥ* in the lower part, in the *Multán* district and the *Baháwal-púr* territory.

The breadth of this high central plateau or *bár*, from the two high banks, varies from about twenty-seven miles north of *Ḳaṣúr*, where it commences, towards *Láhor*, to seventeen miles between *Noh-sharah Sará'e* and *Chúnhíán* lower down; while below that again, near *Sath Garḥ*, in some few places, it is not more than eight, but the average is about ten miles. It soon, however, begins to increase in breadth again; and immediately south of *Hurappah*,<sup>390</sup> which it is close to on the south,

<sup>389</sup> At present, *Sayyid-Wálah* is only a little over a mile from the right or north bank of the *Ráwí*.

<sup>390</sup> When my Survey record was written, the *Ráwí* passed much nearer to *Sayyid-Wálah* than at present. Great changes also have occurred between *Hinjaráún* and *Chúnhíán* ("Choonian" of the maps), some large villages that then existed having now disappeared. *Hurappah* was then described as still a large town; and the *Ráwí* ran much closer to *Koṭ Kamálih* than at the present day. That river flowed then between seven or eight miles east and south from *Bhachchukí* (the "Bhoochoke" of the maps), while now it is only between two and three miles from it. At the same period it flowed within two miles of *Khá'e* (the "Khaye" of the maps), but now it is a little nearer.

Cunningham, full of Alexander and Hwen Thsang, identifies "*Harapa*" (writing the name from ear) as, "another city of the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety," and the chief reason for it seems because of "the mention of marshes," which "shows it must have been near the Ravi," but there are plenty of marshes elsewhere. Another reason given is "because the city of the Malli must have been beyond *Kot Kamália* [not mentioned by the Greeks: it is a Musalmán name] that is to the east or south of it. It is situated on the opposite high bank of the Ravi."

Alexander Burnes on his route to *Láhor* went "to visit a ruined city," four miles inland from the *Ráwí*, and to "inspect the ruins of an ancient city, called



it is twelve miles broad, and still lower down, south of Tulanbah, it is above seventeen; and this continues about the average breadth until it

*Harapa.*” He does not “identify” it as existing in the time of the Greek invasion, but states that the prevalent tradition among the people generally is, that it was destroyed thirteen hundred years ago, at the same time as *Shor Koṭ*. From 1835, less 1300 years, would bring us to about 535 A. D., about the time that the Turks, including the Táltárs, and Mughals, the Indo-Scythians and Getæ of Europeans, began to make inroads into different parts of southern Asia. See my “Translation of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí*,” note 2, page 869.

Masson (“Travels,” I-453), on the other hand, “identifies” “*Harípa*,” as he writes Hurappah, as “Sangala,” “for,” he says, “every condition of Arrian’s Sangala are here fulfilled—the brick fortress, with a lake, or rather swamp [see note 393, page 385, for a great lake in the Bári Do-ábah], at the north-eastern angle; the mound protected by a triple row of chariots, and defended by the Kathi’s,” etc., etc.

As an instance of a great mistake, “Arrian’s conditions” notwithstanding, and which shows likewise how “doctors disagree,” I may mention that the *Tall* of Sángalá happens to lie just eighty miles farther north than Hurappah, and, that it is also in the *Rachin-áb* Do-ábah, while Hurappah is in the Bári Do-ábah. Dr. Phillip Smith (“Ancient History”) “identified” Láhor as “Sangala,” see note 379, page 374. Masson adds, that, “the identification of Sangala gives a point from which we may safely [truly! as I have shewn] calculate upon the site of the celebrated altars of Alexander, which in all probability were in the neighbourhood of Pák Pattan, on the Satlej, two marches from Harípah, Alexander having there gained the high road into India, which was afterwards followed by Tairúr.”

Now that we know the exact position of Sángalá, it is amusing to read of these “identifications;” and were we to be guided by him according to the distance of “the altars,” from “Harípah” by a similar distance from Sángalá, we should have to look for them along the *present* banks of the Ráwí, or at the farthest, at the nearest points of the banks of the Bíáh instead of the “Satlaj,” which, less than five hundred years ago, flowed upwards of sixty miles farther east than the Bíhá. The only wonder is that these altars have not yet been “identified.”

Cunningham, on the other hand, tells us (“Ancient India,” p. 217) that, “the famous spot on the eastern bank of the *Hyphasis* [which refers to the Bíáh only],” where “Alexander halted and wept,” must have been somewhere in the low ground between the Satlej and the Bias [sic], at a short distance above the old junction opposite Kasúr and Bazidpúr [six miles south-east of Fírúz-púr]. For 20 miles above this point the courses of the two rivers ran almost parallel, and within a few miles of each other, from the earliest times [!] down to 1796, when the Satlej suddenly changed its course,” etc., etc. I may mention, however, that from the bed of the Bíáh to the *last* old bed of the Sutlaj is about thirty-six miles on the average. In another place, he says this change in the Sutlaj took place in 1790; and, in another place, that “the altars must be looked for along the line of the present course [!] of the Satlej, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan.” Hari ke Patan is twenty-five miles north-east of Bázid-púr, and thirty-three miles east of Kaşúr.

Why these “altars” must be looked for on the banks of the *Sutlaj*, seeing that Alexander never crossed the *Bíáh*, the writer does not tell us?

Between the “Pák Pattan” near where “the altars” may be looked for

melts into the plain towards the Chin-áb, in the south-west extremity of the Multán district.

“safely,” according to one authority, and “Hari-ki-pattan, below which along the line of the *present* course of the Satlej the altars must have been,” according to the other authority, is only ninety-four miles as the crow flies!

Now respecting these altars, Curtius states that Alexander having constructed his fleet on the Hydaspes [Bihat] he, in eight days, sailed down and reached the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-áb], after stating in another place, that, for the convenience of his troops, he went about 400 *stadia* daily. This would be rather less than 50 miles, consequently, in eight days he would have gone some 400 miles. But let us see how great a distance he must have been from the lowest possible point that we know of for the junction of the Bihat with the Chin-áb. According to that computation he must have set out from the alpine Panj-áb, some 50 miles above the present town of Jihlam, and certainly, a part where timber could easily and conveniently have been obtained.

Having reached the confluence of the two rivers—about which more in its proper place—Alexander is said to have crossed the Hydaspes [really, as the context shows, the united rivers, close to the confluence], and to have passed through tracts of desert [waste, not necessarily desert], and came to the river Hydraotes [the Ráwí], which he likewise crossed, and reached the river Hyphasis [the right bank of the Báh]. This, too, he proposed to cross, “which undertaking,” Curtius says, “was difficult, not only by reason of its great breadth, but also on account of the *many rocks that lay scattered up and down it.*”

Is there a single rock to be found in the whole bed of the Báh, or anywhere in the vicinity of that river for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more “above the Pák Pattan,” or for an hundred miles above “Kasûr and Bazidpur?” Except the Kiránah hills, there is neither a rock nor a stone from one end to the other, save near the hills to the north.

On the west bank of the Hyphasis (in the Bári Do-ábah) Alexander’s troops mutinied and refused to cross or to proceed farther. He directed that twelve altars of square stone should be erected, to remain as monuments of his expedition; and in order to deceive and impose on people hereafter, ordered beds to be left there of much larger size than the ordinary stature of men, and the fortifications to be increased accordingly.

Where was stone to be found for this purpose between the Pák Pattan and Kasûr? He might, however, have obtained stone from the hills, but he could not put rocks in the river bed.

Then Curtius says, that, this having been done, he marched back by the same way as he came, and encamped along the river Acesines.

In the “Life of Alexander the Great,” previously quoted, it is stated, that “The Acesines (the modern Chun-ab) was then crossed, but the channel, as described by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, was nearly a mile broad. \* \* \* Alexander then led his army across the Hydraotes (the modern Iravati or Ravee), and heard that a warlike nation, called Cathaians had roused two other independent tribes to arms, and were preparing to receive him under the walls of a strong city called *Sangala.*” Sângalá, however, lies in the middle of the Rachin-áb Do-abáh at present, that is, a considerable distance *before* reaching the Hydraotes. The Macedonians arrived before Sângalá on the evening of the third day after crossing the



On the south or Bíáh side, the rise of this central plateau, as already noticed, is about forty feet, while on the north or Ráwí side it

Hydraotes [Acesines?]. They captured it, and Alexander was informed, "that India beyond the Hyphasis—the modern Bezah, or perhaps the united streams of the Bezah and Sutlege—[here the writer supposes they had united 2216 years ago instead of less than 100], was very fertile, etc. \* \* \* "He prepared to cross the Hyphasis," but as above stated his troops refused to do so. "On the banks of the Hyphasis he erected twelve towers in the shape of gigantic altars. \* \* \* Alexander then returned from the Hyphasis [which was not crossed], recrossed the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Acesines [Chin-áb], and arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes [Bihat] again. See note 379, page 374.

Strabo agrees with the others that the Hypanis, the Hyphasis of the others [Bíáh], was not crossed, and adds, that Alexander kept much nearer the hills during his march from the Hydaspes, consequently, there would be no need to seek for these altars, if they existed now, "between the Satlej and Bias opposite Kasûr and Bazidpur," nor "in the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, two marches from Harípal." From what Strabo says they would have been situated some fifty miles or more above Kaşûr; and to crown the whole, the Hyphasis [Bíáh] as late as the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, was separated by a tract of country some ninety-two miles in breadth from the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru [Sutlaj], and even in the last century, the distance between them was an average of thirty-eight miles. See page 388.

Dr. (now, Sir) William Smith, LL.D., in his "Classical Dictionary," after telling us that "Alexander penetrated as far as the *Hyphasis*, which was the furthest point he reached," assures us that this river is the "*Garra*." The Ghárah, Hariári, or Níli, did not then exist: and a century has not yet elapsed since the Bíáh and Sutlaj permanently uniting, formed what is known as the Ghárah in the lower half of its course, and Hariári and Níli in the upper half. These two rivers had certainly united, temporarily, within the last four hundred years; but, after flowing together for a short distance, again separated, and again united after flowing apart for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more. The "*Hyphasis*" which Alexander reached, and beyond which he did not pass, nor any of his troops, was the *Bíáh* alone. Having fallen into one error, the writer, naturally, falls into others. Under the heading of "*Zaradrus*," he informs us, that it is the "*Sutlej*," which falls into the *Hyphasis (Gharra)*," here written with 'gh' under the previous heading it was 'g.' Thus he makes the Ghárah and Sutlaj *two distinct rivers*; but, if we turn to the heading "*Hyphasis*," we are told that the Hyphâsis or Hypâsis or Hypânis," is "*the Beas, and Gharra, a river of India*"—one river! The *Sutlaj*, which eleven centuries after Alexander's time was flowing eighty miles or more to the east of the Bíáh, is the "*Zaradrus*," "*Zadarus*," or "*Hesudrus*," and this the Greeks did not reach.

The Survey record which I have been quoting from elsewhere, records a curious fact. On the route from Láhor to Núr-púr, thirty-three miles and a half from the former, and two miles north of Ujnálá, and less than a mile from the north or right bank of the Kîrn Náláh, and four miles and a half from the left bank of the Ráwí, there stood in the last century a *tallah* or mound, which is described as "about one hundred cubits in height, and which can be seen from a distance of two and three *kuroh*. On the summit thereof is a large tomb or something of the

is only about twenty, and the Ráwí, at present, flows about sixteen miles from it farther north; but, from Chíchawatní as far as about twelve miles lower down, the Ráwí flows close under the high bank.

On the opposite or Bíáh side, the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah (always miscalled Sutlaj), has not yet approached this plateau nearer than twenty-three miles, and that only at one point, some twelve miles west of Lúḍhan in the Multán district, and about four miles south of Karam-púr, where it makes a sudden bend from west towards the south.

On the south side of the plateau, and between it and the southernmost of the old channels of the Bíáh, and between that again and the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, and the tract of country which is locally called the Nílí Bār, is quite different from that on the other side through which the Ráwí has at different times flowed, known as the Ráwí Bār. This tract is but slightly elevated above the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah; and, in the south-western part of the Multán district, the ridge of the Chit Dhú'án, subsequently noticed, appears to have prevented the above mentioned river from approaching nearer to the bed of the Bíáh in that direction; for, near Karam-púr, as before stated, it seems to have made an effort in that direction, but, finding an obstacle, it turned suddenly from west to the south-south-east, and then to the south-west, and west again.

This tract, the Nílí Bār, bears evidence of comparatively recent formation, and the action of water; for, a few feet below the surface, deep beds of sand are found, and consequently, wells are with difficulty sunk, and when sunk are very liable to fall in; yet, it seems strange to those unacquainted with the past history of these parts, that this very tract of now dreary waste, without signs of vegetation, should contain so many remains of towns, forts, and villages,<sup>391</sup> water-courses, and canals. They are most numerous perhaps along the old bed of the Bíáh and the parts around Koṭ Kamálah in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district. As already mentioned, there is no land fit for cultivation, or very little, except a belt or fringe of *khádar* or *sail-ábí* land along the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, which, as the term indicates, is under the influence of the periodical inundations, and which is also known locally as *kachchhí*, presently to be explained, or

kind, about twelve cubits in length, and three or four in breadth; and the tradition handed down respecting it is, that this is the resting-place in the sleep of death of one of the companions of "Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Karanain" [as Oriental writers call Alexander the Macedonian]." The Ráwí at the time of the Survey flowed at much the same distance from it as now.

<sup>391</sup> These remains are locally known under the name or term of *khoṭa*—کوٹا—signifying, in Hindí, 'defective,' 'faulty,' 'ruinous,' etc.



what can be artificially irrigated by means of canals or cuts from that river. This belt or fringe in many places does not exceed three miles in breadth from the banks, but in some places it is four or five. In the parts around Ajúddhan or the Pák Pattan much less land is fit for tillage, it is the most elevated part of the tract around,<sup>392</sup> and is covered with dense *jangal*; but, in the south-west corner of the Do-ábah, in the Multán district, along the banks of the Chin-áb, this strip of cultivation may extend to six or seven miles on the average from the river's bank.

Thus an extensive tract of waste land, extending some twenty miles or more in breadth in the Ghugherah district, intervenes between the high ridge of the elevated plateau marking the northern-most point the Bíaḥ ever reached, and the belt or fringe of cultivation before alluded to. On the northern half of this waste, nearest the high plateau, traversed by old channels of the Bíaḥ, water collects every here and there in its hollows in rainy seasons,<sup>393</sup> and these collections of water are called *ḍhoras*. The other or southern half is also intersected in several places with numerous old channels of minor branches or offshoots from the Bíaḥ, but all inclining towards the old bed of the river in the lowest part of this waste, towards the south-west extremity of the Multán district, in the direction of the point where, at one time, the united Bíaḥ and Ráwí were joined by the united Chin-áb and Bihat.

<sup>392</sup> Since the Pák Pattan stands just 616 feet above the sea, and 106 feet above the level of Debál-púr, and the banks of the Hariári, Níli, or Ghárah, twelve miles above and below the Pák Pattan, are respectively, 548 and 520 feet only above the sea, that is, an average of 82 feet *lower* than the Pák Pattan, how is it possible that Debál-pár could have stood on the bank of the Sutlaj, as Cunningham asserts, or for the Pák Pattan "to have been for ages the ferry over the Sutlej," which has never approached it nearer than at the present day?

<sup>393</sup> From the heights given in the preceding note 392, it will be observed, that around Ghugherah the country is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues to increase down as far as the junction of the Ráwí with the Chin-áb.

Towards the close of the last century, in going from Sher Garḥ to Hinjaráún across the high plateau between the Bíaḥ and the Ráwí which slopes towards the latter, just mid way, and near the present line of Railway between Multán and Láhor, there was a great *ḍhorah* or lake, called the Paltí, which extended five *kuroh* in length from east to west, with a breadth of one *kuroh*. It was generally dry except in and after rainy seasons. This great lake, therefore, lay just in the middle of the plateau. There were no inhabitants between Sher Garḥ and Hinjaráún, but there was a dense *jangal*, and scarcity of water. It was much the same farther north-west to Wándirí and Šalábat Pind, now a mile from the left bank of the Ráwí, and seven miles east of Sayyid-Wálah.

The “*Bárání Rúds*,” now so called, that is, dependent on rain for water, namely the *Párhah* and its branch, called the *Dahará*, and the *Sohág*—the still minor ones are not of much importance to the present subject—are merely offshoots from the *Bíáh*, which separated from its left bank and flowed south and south-westwards. As long as the *Bíáh* continued to flow in the channel which passed close by *Debál-púr*, these *bárání rúds* continued to flow also, and their waters were the source of prosperity to the country through which they passed. Now, except after rainy seasons, they contain no water until the period of the inundations, when the overflow from the *Hariári* or *Nílí* reaches them, and they become filled. At the period of the Survey quoted here, the channel of the *Sohág* passed within three miles and a half of *Ajúddhan*, but now it is over five miles north of it.

What is known as the *Súkh Ná'e* (the “*Sookhnye N.*” of the maps) is, to all appearances, the old channel of the intermediate branch of the three, into which, after uniting and forming the *Hariári* or *Nílí*, the *Bíáh* and *Sutlaj* again separated “to unite one hundred *kuroh* further down and form the *Ghárah*,” as already noticed. It is called by *Abú-l-Fazl*, and the author of the *Khuláshatu-t-Tawárikh*, as well as in the Survey record, the *Dandah*, and which, lower down, in the *Multán* district, is represented by the “*N. Bhuttyaree Nullah*” of the maps, and is there separated from the old bed of the *Bíáh* by the plateau of waste known as *Chit Dhú'án* (چٹ ڈھوان)<sup>394</sup>—the “*Flat or Supine Bank*” or “*Rising Ground.*” It will be noticed that these “*rúds*” are now more numerous on the south or left side of the old bed of the *Bíáh*, and between its extreme high bank on the right or north, and the present channel of the *Hariári*, *Nílí*, or *Ghárah*, as the country, which gives evidence of its comparatively recent formation, slopes down towards the last named river, which has no high bank whatever like the others to the westwards.<sup>395</sup> Indeed, the whole extent of country between the high banks of the *Ráwí* as well as the *Bíáh*, lying on either side of the central ridge or plateau of the *Ganjí Bár* of the *Bári Do-ábah* and the present channel of the *Ráwí*, and the dry channel of the *Bíáh*, is cut up for miles by old channels more or less defined or much obliterated; and the ruins of brick-built buildings, and sites of ruined and abandoned villages, scattered over the whole of the present desolate tracts, show that they must have been once in a flourishing condition, and supported a considerable number of people.

<sup>394</sup> From Hindí *chit* ‘flat,’ ‘supine,’ ‘prostrate,’ and *dhú'án* or *dhú'á* ‘a bank,’ ‘mound,’ ‘rising ground,’ ‘declivity,’ and the like. This plateau or bank appears in one of the best survey maps as “the wilderness of ‘*Chit Duen.*’”

<sup>395</sup> See preceding page, note 392.



The "Old Bias Nalla," so called, is without doubt, the remains of the channel of that second branch into which the Biah in bygone times separated into two branches near the *karyah* of Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, as already noticed, long before it had any connection with the Sutlaj; and not long ago water found its way into it.<sup>396</sup>

With respect to the two perennial hill streams in the present Jalhandar Do-ábah, which are "supposed to be all one with the upper and lower Sohág, and the Khán-Wáh canal," I may mention, that, of the streams in that Do-ábah in the last century, when the Survey was made, there were two principal ones, the one named Kálí Wa'in or Ba'in (كَلِيْن or وَئِيْن), and the other Dhaulí Wa'in or Ba'in.<sup>397</sup> The latter issuing from the hills of the Siwálikh, and running southwards, passed Sará'e-i-Dakhaní on the south, and, opposite Jalál-ábád in the present Fírúz-púr district, three miles south of Dharam Kot, united with the Sutlaj, which since that time has changed its course.

The other is called the Dhaulí Wa'in or Ba'in, which issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake west of the ancient town of Do-súhah,<sup>398</sup> and which lake is some six or seven *kuroh* in circumference, and very deep. It passes Yahyá Nagar on the north, where there is a masonry bridge of burnt

<sup>396</sup> See following note 399.

<sup>397</sup> In the maps, the lower part of the Kálí Wa'in or Ba'in is styled the "Kalnah River," but, a little higher up it appears as the "Veyn Nuddee"; and the Dhaulí Wa'in or Ba'in, is called "Beyn Nuddee." It was thought, probably, that one river was called the "Veyn" and the other the "Beyn." In the Gazetteers, on the contrary, they are styled the "Kali Ben," and the "Sufed Ben," *safed* being merely the Persian of the Hindí name.

Dhaulá is from the Sanskrit धवल—'white'—and Ba'in or Wa'in is probably from वेणु—'channel,' 'gully,' 'pipe,' etc., in the same language.

The Dhaulí Wa'in or Ba'in appears to have passed rather nearer to Jalhandar in former times than at present. When Jasraṭh, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, rebelled in 824 H. (1421 A.D.), among other doings was to invest Jalhandar; and Zírak Khán, the feudatory, was obliged to shut himself up therein. Jasraṭh took up his position on the banks of the Sarastí, as the Dhaulí Wa'in or Ba'in was then called; and Zírak Khán had to make terms with the rebel, and evacuate the place. After this, Sultán Mubárah Sháh had to move against him, as already related. Láhor, at this time, was a heap of ruins; and the Sultán on this occasion repaired its citadel, and the walls of the town.

<sup>398</sup> Spelt in the original دوسوه, but Abú-l-Fazl, in the *A'in-i-Akbarí*, spells it ديسوه—Deso-ah. It appears in our maps as "Dusooyah," and "Dussohuh" and in other ways, no two maps being alike, and all wrong!

According to tradition, this place was founded *only* five thousand years ago, and was the capital of Rájah Bharata of the Mahá-bhárata, in whose service the five Pándavas continued during their thirteen years of banishment while the Kurus were all powerful.

bricks; then to the north of Sultán-púr, under which place it is also spanned by a brick bridge, and about eleven *kuroh* farther to the south-west unites with the Bíáh." At this period the Sutlaj passed close to Piṇḍourí, two miles and a half north of Dharam Koṭ, and which former place is *now* five miles south of the Sutlaj.

That these two streams had any connection with the "two Sohágs" or the "Khánwah canal," is very improbable. The Kálí Ba'in or Wa'in may possibly have had some connection with the Katorah canal, or that canal, rather, with the Kálí Wa'in.<sup>399</sup>

At a period long anterior to the two accounts of the Bíáh as it flowed just one hundred and two hundred years ago respectively, as mentioned at pages 372 and 373, it was separated from the Sutlaj by a tract of country some sixty-five miles or more in breadth, and the latter river was still a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah. The Bíáh also still flowed through the *Sarkár* of Debál-púr, in the direction of about south-west, to within some twenty-eight miles south-east of the city of Multán;<sup>400</sup> and three or four miles or thereabouts north-west of Dín Muḥammad ká Tibbah, and between that village and the *Chak* of the Makhdúm-i-Rashíd (the "Mukhdoom Rusheed" of the maps), was joined by the united Wihat, *Chin-ab*, and Ráwí.<sup>401</sup> It then continued its course more towards the south, passing between Lohdrán and Jalál-púr, in the south-west corner of the Multán district, but nearer to the former place. From thence it ran to Bábiyah (or Pábiyah—the Pubberwalla" of some of the maps, but it has dis-

<sup>399</sup> According to my Survey record, "in going from Debál-púr towards Kaṣúr, after passing Shám Koṭ, half a *kuroh* north of that place you come to the channel called the Khán-Wá-hah, in which, in former times, a stream of water from the Daryá-e Bíáh ran, which passed by Debál-púr on the south towards the south-west. It was also known as the Bíáh, and now its channel is deserted, and dried up." It was never yet called "Ghára," except in Gazetteers.

At the present time, instead of being half a *kuroh* north of Shám Koṭ, the channel is nearly a *kuroh*, or about a mile and a half, south of Shám Koṭ; and in the several routes across the Do-ábah from Debál-púr in different directions, there is not one word about any "Kutora Canal," thus showing that it must have been opened since. It may have been some minor channel utilized as a canal.

<sup>400</sup> The nearest point of the most recent channel in which the Bíáh flowed, is just eighteen miles south of Multán; and to this point a new canal has been brought from the northwards from the *Chin-áb*, which passes close to Sítalkí Mári. See note 354, page 352.

<sup>401</sup> The country hereabouts for many miles northwards of the *chak* (farm or estate) of Makhdúm-i-Rashíd and Dín Muḥammad ká Tibbah, as far as the termination of the high left bank of the Ráwí, and the right high bank of the dry Bíáh, bears undoubted signs of the violent action of water, and shows whereabouts these rivers once united. See *Sikah* or *Us-Sikah* of Multan, page 244 and note 192.



appeared from more recent ones), about twenty-nine miles to the eastward of *Uchchh*, and was situated on its left or south bank, and which place, known as the fort of *Bábiyah*, is mentioned in the *Chách Námah*, and by the old historians of *Sind*.<sup>402</sup> After reaching this point, the *Bíah*, and the other rivers which had united with it, forming the *Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind* of the old *Muhammadan* writers, made a bend a little more to the westward, and united with the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah* lower down, about ninety-eight miles farther to the south-south-west, at a place between *Baghlah* and *Şahib Garh* in the present *Baháwal-púr* State, which place of junction was known in the early times of the writers just referred to, as the *Dosh-i-Áb*, signifying the "Meeting Place of Waters," as already recorded.

The *Sutlaj* flowing in an independent channel, one of those presently to be described, was still a tributary of the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah*, and united with it some twenty-five miles above the *Dosh-i-Áb*, where the other more western rivers joined it.

After this period again, and probably a considerable time after *Uchchh* was invested by the *Mughal Nú-ín*, *Mangútah*, and about the time of the great flood in the northern parts of the *Panj-áb* territory, other great changes took place.<sup>403</sup> The *Chin-áb*, which previously

<sup>402</sup> Boileau mentions this place in his "Personal Narrative." He says: "*Pabarwáli* is among the chief towns of the *Daoodputrahs*." In another place he says, that, in "going from *Khanpur* to *Bahawulpur*, *Dilawar* is 24 *kos*, then *Mithra* 12 *kos*, after which is *Puburwalee* 12 *kos*, and *Bahawulpur* 12 *kos*."

These two names (written differently) both refer to one and the same place, which is, I believe, identical with the site of the fort of *Pabíah* referred to above, or very near it.

Boileau subsequently mentions a "*Powarwala*." He says: "Left *Bahawulpur* 8 *kos* E. S. E. over a bad road to the little village of *Powarwala*, and from thence to *Mojgur* [*Moj Garh*] 16 *kos*." This can hardly refer to the former place, which he says, was then a considerable town.

Crofton, in his "Plan for the *Sirhind Canal*," has *Babberwala*, 13½ miles about S. W. of *Baháwal-púr*, and near the high bank of the "*Sutlaj*." He rightly refers to the old channel of the *Sutlaj* as it now remains, not to the channel of the *Ghára*, which has no high bank. The whole tract of country for many miles hereabout is of recent formation. See page 386. In former times, likewise, the *Bíah* took a more direct southerly course after the junction with it of the *Chin-áb* and *Ráwí* east of *Multán*.

The place referred to by Crofton is the same as that referred to by Boileau under the name of "*Powarwala*," and seems much too far south to be the site of *Pabíah* above referred to. See note 192, page 244.

<sup>403</sup> What brought about this flood noticed at page 392, is not stated, but it is highly probable that some volcanic action was at work, and this may account for the formation of these *Bárş* and the *Thal*, the raised plateaux which I have been describing, and the geological formation of which indicates something of the kind.

flowed in the old channel by Bhaṭián dí Pindí, and some miles east of Chandan-ot or Chandaní-ot (vul. “Chuneeot”), Khewah, Jhang-i-Siálán, and Shor Koṭ, as mentioned in the account of that river, changed its course much farther towards the west, passed those places (or the positions where they now stand) on the *west* instead of the *east*, and continuing its course in nearly the same direction, flowed into the low-lying ground, a short distance on the west side of Multán. The Ráwí on being deserted by the Chin-áb, became also affected thereby, and although it still continued to unite with the Bíáh, it altered its course likewise, but not considerably, to a more westerly direction, nearer Multán, where its old bed, under the name of Súkh Ráwah or Ráwí or “Dried up Ráwah” channel, still exists, as mentioned in the notice of that river. The Bíáh, on the other hand, also affected from the same causes as had affected the others, and on account of the Ráwí passing nearer to Multán than before—within about three or four miles, and hence that side of the city is still known as *ṭaraf Ráwí*, or ‘Ráwí Side’ to this day—instead of running towards the south to unite with the Hakrá or Wahindah, it took a direction more to the westward—about south-west—and was joined by the Chin-áb and its tributary the Wihat or Jhílam ten miles north-west of Jalál-púr, and three miles and a half west of Koṭlí, in the south-west corner of the Bárá Do-ábah in the Multán district; and the united waters soon after fell into the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, a short distance west of Uchchh.<sup>404</sup> From thence, the Ab-i-Sind kept a more southerly course on its way to the place of junction at the Dosh-i-Ab, already noticed, and respecting which further particulars will be found in the notice of the Hakrá or Wahindah.

These changes were not confined to these two Do-ábahs, we may be certain, and, doubtless, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus and its tributaries farther west were affected likewise, and, probably, the Hakrá also in the opposite direction. See note 307, page 305.

<sup>404</sup> Abú-l-Faṣl, likewise, states in the A’in-i-Akbarí, that, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, the Ab-i-Sind united with the rivers of the Panj-áb, near Uchchh, on the west.

It was just the same in the time of Sultán Náṣir-ud-Din, Ḳabá-jah, ruler of Multán, Uchchh, and Sind, and also at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, already noticed. The following tradition respecting it, contained in the Life of the famous Afghán saint, the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, the Bakhtyár Sherání Afghán. “It is related that the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, came to Uchchh from the Afghánistán at the time that the celebrated saint of that place, the Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán, was at the height of his fame and veneration for sanctity. On this occasion, it is said, that, when the “rainy season” came round, the Daryá-e Sind, had put forth great violence, in such wise that it reached close up to the city of Uchchh, and swept away several houses. As the people were filled with fear and dismay in consequence, they assembled together, and came to the



THE SUTLAJ, OR SUTLÁJ, OR SHUTTLAJ.<sup>405</sup>

Before I give any account of the Sutlaj, the ancient S'atadru, it is necessary that I should relate what is stated in the Khuláṣat-ut-presence of the saint, the Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán, and besought him, saying: "Ah Makhdúm! the Ab-i-Sind has risen so high as to threaten to overwhelm us. Let it not happen, that, with such a sanctified person as yourself among us, we should be swallowed up." The Makhdúm replied: "Whatever may be the will of Almighty God, that we must bow to: and whatever He may be pleased to do, that He will perform, and we have no reason to say "why" or "wherefore."

"This happened on the night of a Friday (our Thursday night: the night is reckoned first in eastern countries, and the day last); and the Makhdúm advised them, saying: "Return to your homes and pray devoutly to God, and supplicate Him, that He would vouchsafe to direct you in your sleep what you should do." When the morning came round, they came to him again, and began to relate what their dreams had been. The Makhdúm said: "I have seen the blessed Prophet in my sleep, and he thus directed me, saying: 'Ah Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán! in a certain place there is a large brick which Mihtar Khwájah Khizr baked for a certain Záhid (Recluse) in the time of Mihtar Músá—on whom be peace!—who used to perform his ablutions on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind, in order that by standing thereon the Záhid's feet might not be soiled by the dirt, and his mind thereby become distracted every time he performed his ablutions. That brick lies buried in a certain place: let it be brought from thence and given to the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, and let him, with his own hands, place it on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind, and Almighty God will cause the river to recede, and no injury will be sustained from it by Uchchh to the end of time.'"

"The Makhdúm having taken the people along with him to the place indicated, set them to excavate; and the brick was found and placed before him. He then requested the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, to take it, saying: "With thine own hands place this brick on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind." He replied: "Oh Makhdúm! let it not be that some other and more worthy Yaḥyá was intended; for it does not appear that the blessed Muḥammad indicated me, his servant, who is not worthy to carry out his command." The Makhdúm answered, saying: "The Blessed Prophet indicated thee to me, saying: 'He is a Rohelah, who has come from the Koh-i-Sulímán, and speaks the Puṣ'hto tongue.'" On this, the Khwájah, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, ejaculated "Bismi'lláh!" took up the brick, and placed it on the spot indicated by the blessed Prophet, and Almighty God caused the Ab-i-Sind to recede; and, Please God! the river will not pass beyond that brick, and no injury will be sustained therefrom by Uchchh to the end of the world."

<sup>405</sup> Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (vol. 1, p. 417) relating the Vedic traditions or legends, says, that this river, which is called the "dreadful S'atadru (Sattlej), which was full of alligators, etc., derived its name from *rushing* away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhmaṇ, the Sage, Vásishṭha, who on hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvámitra, in the early contests between the Bráhmaṇs and Kshattriyas, threw himself into it."

In another place (vol. 2, p. 417) it is called "The dreadful S'atadru (Sutlej) which was full of alligators," etc., and "derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhmaṇ brilliant as fire."

Tawárikh, and in that chronicle only, respecting the great flood in the Panj-áb territory. The author was a native of the part adjacent to the tract of country affected by it, and possessed the necessary local knowledge to describe it. The exact year in which this flood took place is not fixed, but it was a long time before the invasion of Hindústán by Amír Tímúr. In all probability it happened a short time before Sultán Fírúz Sháh commenced opening canals; and the vast changes which this flood appears to have caused, may have been the reason of his bringing canals to his newly founded Fírúzah Hīşár and parts adjacent.

Some great physical disturbance in the mountains bounding the Panj-áb territory on the north “caused the whole of the country of the northern part of that tract to be flooded, in such wise, that the whole extent of country between the rivers Sutlaj and Chin-áb, was overwhelmed and completely swept by this flood, and the whole face of the country changed.” The remains of the ancient channels of these rivers, and of the Ráwí and Bíáh, which flowed between them, tend to prove this; and the flood appears to have swept along in a south-westerly direction. “When it subsided, the country affected by it, for a long time lay waste and uninhabited, but, subsequently, by degrees, it began to be re-peopled. As the Mughals from the direction of Balkh and Kábul made incursions into the Panj-áb territory nearly every year, the country did not soon recover: it continued in a state of ruin, and so remained, paying little or no revenue, until the time of Sultán Bahlúl, the Lodí Afghán, and first Paţán who ruled in Hindústán, who made Tattár Khán feudatory of the Láhor province, at which time Rá’e Rám-Díw, the Bhaţi, farmed the whole Panj-áb [the Láhor province is most likely meant, but such are the author’s words] for nine lakhs of tangahs.<sup>406</sup> This Rám-Díw subsequently became a Mussulmán, and this greatly conduced to his rise. In the year 887 H., and 1522 of Bikramájít [1488 A. D.], he, with Tattár Khán’s sanction, founded Paţíálah, the site of which, at that period, was a *jangal* waste. The first place selected was a *pushtah* or mound; but the omens regarding this site not being deemed propitious, it was abandoned, and another *pushtah* chosen, the same on which Paţíálah now stands. The word *paţíálah* means *dunbálah* [signifying ‘after,’ ‘behind,’ etc.], referring to the subsequent selection of its site.”

Others say its name is “S’atadru, of the hundred channels,” and others again, “S’atadru, of the hundred bellies.”

These terms may have been applied to it on account of its repeatedly forming new channels.

<sup>406</sup> Of silver, equal to about four lakhs and a half of rúpís. See Thomas’s “Pathan Coins,” p. 369.



I may mention that the author, as well as being a native of Paṭí-ālah, was also a revenue official of the Mughal Empire in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i- 'Ālam-gír Bādsháh.

It may be noticed here in connection with this great flood, that Amír Tímúr having reached Bharah on the Jihlam, and defeated the Ṭammímí, <sup>407</sup> Mubárah Sháh, which place, as the crow flies, is about two hundred and fifty-six miles from Samánah by Láhor, instead of taking the direct route, he marched towards Multán, one hundred and seventy-six miles in a direct line, or thirty-two miles farther from Samánah than Bharah is. True, his grandson, the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, was at Multán, and wanted help in the shape of horses to enable him to move, but he might have joined his grandfather at Láhor by Debál-púr as easily perhaps as joining him on the Báh, or the Amír might have detached a portion of his army to his assistance; for Amír Tímúr did not go to Multán<sup>408</sup> from Tulambah, but marched to the Báh direct. It will be noticed that his grandson also came into the Panj-áb by a southern route, as did Taramshírín Khán, to whom Amír Tímúr refers with respect to bridging the united Bihat or Jihlam and Chin-áb by means of boats. I imagine that the choice of a more southern route, in preference to the direct one by Láhor, by Amír Tímúr and the others, was, in some way, connected with the desolate state of the Láhor territory, or northern Panj-áb, occasioned by this great flood, mentioned by the author I have quoted, and for the reasons he gives.

We know from the historian of Amír Tímúr's campaign, that the Chin-áb passed on the west side of Multán at that time, but what had become of the Sutlaj is not so clear. It is certain that the Ráwí still united with the Báh, and passed Multán as heretofore on the east, and that the Báh still flowed in its old bed. It is also very evident, that, if Amír Tímúr had had to cross the Sutlaj in going from Ajúddhan (afterwards called the Pák Pattan) to Bhatnir we should have heard of it, especially if it contained its usual volume of water, or its previous volume; for it was unfordable as far up as Lúdhíánah and Tihárah<sup>409</sup> during the operations against Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, in 825 H. (1422 A. D.),<sup>410</sup> until the cold season set in, but it was still unfordable farther

<sup>407</sup> The Baní Ṭammím, were powerful in Sind from the time of the 'Arab conquest, several of its members, being governors under the Khalífahs. Mubárah Sháh was one of that 'Arab tribe, still independent some seven centuries later. See note 315, page 324.

<sup>408</sup> Moreover, he does not appear to have cared for Multán, for he left no troops to occupy it, and seems simply to have abandoned it to any one who might choose to seize it.

<sup>409</sup> Then on the bank of the Sutlaj.

<sup>410</sup> See page 278.

down stream. Amír Tímúr crossed from Ajúddhan to Bhatnir on the last day of October, 1398 A. D., shortly after the subsidence of the inundations, and when all the rivers are still high.<sup>411</sup> Although he tells us about the Bíáh being rapid and unfordable, and that he had to send his troops across in boats, while some swam their horses across, he makes no mention whatever of any river, or channel of any river, between Khálish Koṭlah<sup>412</sup> and the Ghag-ghar at Bhatnir. Indeed, there is not a word respecting the Sutlaj, either in the histories of Amír Tímúr's expedition, or in Ibn Baṭúṭah's travels. It seems almost impossible for Amír Tímúr to have reached Bhatnir from Pír-i-Khálish without having to cross the Sutlaj, yet, as before remarked, it is never once referred to; and Ibn Baṭúṭah mentions no river whatever between Ajúddhan and Uboh-har,<sup>413</sup> but says that that place *abounded in water*

<sup>411</sup> Not so high, of course, as during the inundations, but much higher than the usual cold season levels.

<sup>412</sup> Pír-i-Khálish of the present time, the "*Peer Khalis*" of the maps. See page 285.

<sup>413</sup> Cunningham in his "*Ancient India*," pp. 218-219, refers to "Ajudhan" as "*for many centuries the principal ferry of the Satlej*," and says, that, "at this point the great conquerors Mahmud and Timur, and the great traveller Ibn Batuta crossed the Satlej." I have stated above that in Ibn Baṭúṭah's work there is no mention whatever of any Sutlaj; and no river is mentioned between Ajúddhan and Uboh-har; and neither in any history of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, nor of Amír Tímúr, will such a word as "*Satlej*" be found, nor Sutlaj either.

In another place, lower down, he says: "the fort is said [by whom not mentioned] to have been captured by Sabuktugin in A. H. 367, or A. D. 977-78 during his expedition into the Panjab, and again in A. H. 472, or A. D. 1079-80 by Ibrahim Ghaznavi \* \* \* The present name of Pâk-pattan is of comparatively modern date." See note 330, page 375, and note 420, page 398.

There is no record in early history to show that Sulṭán Ibráhám of Ghaznín "captured" Ajúddhan, because the whole of the Panj-áb territory as far east as the Hakrá, and in which Ajúddhan lay, had been subject to the Ghaznín Sulṭáns for some seventy years before 472 H. The Tárikh-i-Alfí, quoting older works, states, that the place (mistaken by Firishtah for Ajúddhan) was called اجود [Ajúd or Achúd] one hundred *farsangs*, equal to three hundred miles and more, from Láhor, then the capital of his dominions in Hind; and that, after obtaining possession of that place, another stronghold, named اومان Ūmán was reduced. This last was situated on the extreme border of Hind, on a high mound, on one side of which was the ocean, and near which vessels could be seen passing to and fro; and on the other side was a *jangal* so dense as to exclude the light of day. At the foot of the fortress there was scarcely standing room for the troops to attack it. The only direction that the distance here given will suit is near the sea coast, between Sind and Kanbháyah (*vul.* "Cambay"), on the coast of Káthiáwár.

Sulṭán Ibráhím is also stated to have captured Ūdah-púrah, said to have been "peopled by the descendants of Khurásánís transported thither in former ages by Afrásiyáb, near which was a reservoir of vast extent, and the *jangals* surrounding which were so dense, that the Hindú Rájahs deemed it unassailable."



and cultivation, and yet does not say what river this water came from. It was, however, the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel and was a tributary of the Hakrá. It was shortly after Amír Tímúr's time that the Sutlaj formed a new channel for itself, now represented by the great *ḍanḍah* or high bank, between the Uboh-har channel and the present Hariári or Níli. After that again, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj, by uniting at Loh, Loh-Wál, or Lohí-Wál,<sup>414</sup> above Fírúz-púr, formed the Hariári, Núrní, or Níli, as described by Abú-l-Fazl. This junction was temporary, however, for they again separated a few miles east of Debál-púr, and, on this occasion, separated into three branches the Bíáh returning to its old bed again, and the Sutlaj bending southwards regaining its former channel likewise, and each regaining their former names. The third branch, was smaller and insignificant, compared with the other two, and, under the name of *Ḍanḍah* passed between Ajúḍḍhan and *Kháliš Koṭlah*, almost parallel with the Bíáh until about midway between Lohdrán and Jalál-púr in the Multán district. Having thus flowed apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, the Bíáh and Sutlaj again united<sup>415</sup>—the *Ḍanḍah* had previously united with the latter a little farther up stream—and losing their names once more, formed the Ghallú-Gháraḥ or Gháraḥ, and finally united with the Sindhú or Ab-i-Sind near *Uchchh-i-Sharíf*. The intermediate channel is represented

<sup>414</sup> Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 210, etc.), says, that, "for centuries before the present confluence of the Bias and Sutlej, the point of junction was just above *Bhao ki Patan*, between Kasur and Firuzpur. This junction is mentioned by Jauhar, A.D. 1555," etc. This is a mistake: neither in Stewart's translation of the work of Johar, the Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bádsháh, nor in the original, is there a word about *Bhao ki Patan*. The word is *لوه* (see page 372), which some have mistaken for *بوه*—without a point thus—*لوه*. All that Johar says (I quote Stewart's translation here, because it is that which Cunningham follows) is (page 112): "The chiefs that had been sent to Jallindhar having crossed the *Sutlege*, and passed through Machwareh [this is how Stewart writes *Máḥhí Wáraḥ*], entered the district of Sirhind [Sahrind he means];" and on the next page, that, "Information having been brought to the king that Omer Khán Ghicker [Ghakar], having collected a very large force at *Fyruzpur* [Fírúz-púr], which is situated at the junction of the Beyah and Sutlege rivers." There is nothing more except, that, "about this time the Afgháns marked out a ford across the Sutlege opposite the town of Machwareh \* \* \* But Byram Khán crossed the river by the very ford the Afgháns had marked out \* \* \* Accordingly the king crossed the Sutlege at Machwareh, and joined the army at Sirhind," etc.

Now "*Booh*," as it appears in the maps, and is what has been mistaken by Cunningham for *Bhao*, is twenty-three miles above *Máḥhí Wáraḥ*, and a couple of miles north-west of Hari ke Paṭan; a few miles north-east of which, higher up still the confluence took place in 1874. See note 244, page 278.

<sup>415</sup> See page 372.

now by what is called the Súkhh Ná'e or "Dry Stream,"<sup>416</sup> which flowed a little west of Lohdrán, but subsequently shifted nearer towards Jalál-púr, a short distance farther west. The channel called "Nulla Bíás" in the maps, a little east of Lúdhān, appears to have been connected with it.

The surface of the country south of the banks of the Sutlaj—I refer to it before its junction with the Bíáh—is a dead flat, and throughout the Fírúz-púr district, and farther south into Sind, without a hillock of any kind until the sand hills of the *registán* or sandy desert are reached, with the exception of a few dreary looking sand hills to the south and south west, the remains probably of some high bank or *dandah* of ancient times. It also slopes towards the south and south-west, but more so in the latter direction, through which part the Hariári, Machhú-Wáh, Nílí, or Ghárah now flows, from about 727 feet above sea-level at Dullo-Wálah to 545 feet near Pír-i-Khális; 340 at the junction of the Ghárah with the Chin-áb; and 335 at the junction of the Panch Nad or PanjAb with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus.

The following is the Survey record account of the Sutlaj, as it flowed in the last century, and its subsequent junction with the Bíáh.

"The Sutlaj, properly called Sutláj (ستلاج), but, from constant use, Sutlaj (ستلج), flows out of the *kohistán* of Bhútant (بهوتنت), and from the *koh* of Sír Khand and Kahlúr, the chief place of which is Bilás-púr. One bank lies in Hindústán, and the other in the Panj-áb territory. After issuing from the hills it separates into two branches; and, having passed below Makho-Wál and Kírat-púr, the branches again unite near Rúh-par ("Rooper," "Ropar," and "Roopúr" of the maps and Gazetteers). After this, it passes under Bahlúl-púr ("Bhilol-poor" of the maps), Máchhi-Wárah, Lúdhíánah, and 'Tihárah, and near the village of Loh-Wál (لوه وال), or Lohí-Wál (لوهي وال), a dependency of Haibat-púr Paṭí, unites with the Bíáh. Both rivers then lose their names, and the united streams are known as the Machhú-Wáh (مچھوواہ) and Hariári [Abú-l-Fazl's "Harihári."] They again separate into two<sup>417</sup> branches, and after flowing separately for about one hundred

<sup>416</sup> This is not the Súkhh Ná'e referred to at page 386. "Dry Channel," as the words mean in the original, are applicable to any dried up channel or water course, hence, if not explained, so many similarly styled might cause confusion.

<sup>417</sup> From this it appears that the Súkhh Ná'e and Súkhh Bíáh, had already ceased to be perennial streams. We must not presume, however, to assume that those two branches flowed precisely then as now, because the river, as now constituted, never runs exactly in the same course two years following, for the change is constant. There are the remains of an old branch still known as the Hariári, but nearly obliterated, which ran south to the Sutlaj when it flowed in what is now known as the Dandah, as mentioned at page 372. It is again noticed farther on.



*kuroh* they re-unite.<sup>418</sup> In the part where this fresh junction takes place, in the rainy season, on occasion of the slightest swell, the river overflows its banks, and the waters spread out for a distance of several *kuroh* on either side—for the banks are low and consist of soft, alluvial earth—fertilizing the country thereby. In this part the united stream is known to the people as the Ghallú-Gháraḥ, or Gháraḥ, and Nílí; and the tract of country along its banks on either side is known as the Chhotí Kachchhí.<sup>419</sup> Continuing its course, and having passed Uchchh-i-Sharíf, just below it, it unites with the *Ab-i-Sind*.”

Such was the united river towards the close of the last century, yet what changes have we here, to judge from the present?

Without noticing the turns and windings of the Sutlaj in former times north of its present channel more than I have done, which are

<sup>418</sup> The author of the article on the “Lost River” in the “Calcutta Review,” previously noticed, states (page 13), that “in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the united Sutlej and *Biyás* is said (A. D. 1596) to flow in four streams, which meet near *Multán*. Of the names given *Har*, *Hari*, *Nurnai*, and *Dhund*, the latter is the only one known at present.”

This is a great mistake: the *A'in-i-Akbarí* contains nothing of this kind, as may be seen from the original text. The writer must have seen some statement of this kind, in *Gladwin's* translation perhaps; for the account in the original coincides precisely with what I have mentioned at page 296, that the united river is known by those three names, not that there are three rivers, much less four.

Perhaps *Rennell* obtained his four streams from the same source. See page 405.

The “Calcutta Review” writer also states, that, “the two rivers *Sutlej* and *Biyás* did not meet (in *Arrian* and *Strabo's* days) until they reached the *Rann of Kach*.” I do not think any of these names will be found mentioned by the writers referred to.

<sup>419</sup> Kachchh—not “*Kach*”—means silt or alluvium thrown up and left by water, and rivers, after inundations. The name of the level tract north and north-west of *Shikár-púr*, and the territory on the sea coast, called Kachchh and Kachchh-Bhuj, is derived from the same word, referring to their original formation. The banks of a river where such deposits are left, are so called; and “both banks of the *Gháraḥ* and *Hariári* or *Nílí*, for a distance of about eighty *kuroh* or more in length,” according to the Survey record above referred to, “with a breadth of from five to six *kuroh*, is called Chhotí Kachchhí. The cultivation of this tract depends on the inundations of the river. On the southern bank is some small extent of *jangal*, and beyond, the *chúl* or desert. On the northern bank, beyond the *kachchh* of the *Nílí Bár*, the *jangal* is so dense that a horseman cannot get through it, and even a man on foot penetrates it with great difficulty. Each *besah* (forest) has a separate name, one of which is *Nekáli Kánd*; and in time of necessity, the people, who are *Jats*, take shelter in them.” In the Sanskrit, कंड means ‘bush,’ ‘copse’ and the like. See note 360, page 363. The northern side of this alluvial tract is also known as the Shamáli Kachchhí D-ábah.

not material to the present subject, its old bed<sup>420</sup>—that is to say, the channel last abandoned before it had anything to do with the Biah, and when it was a tributary of the Hakra or Wahindah—can be distinctly traced downwards to Sind by its distinct and well marked high bank or *dandah*, from Tiharah to Dharm Kot, Kot-i-'Isa Khán, where it bends towards the south-west, passing near Mudki (“Moodki” of the maps) on the east, then by Farid Kot, north and west of Makhti-sar, close to Rata Khirah on the west, Bag-sar, about mid-way between Ubohhar and Fazil ka, thirteen miles south-south-east of Bahawal Garh, and twenty-three miles south of Ajuddhan or Pattan-i-Panj-ab, or the Pak

<sup>420</sup> Cunningham (“Ancient India,” page 217) inform us that “Debálpur was the capital of the northern Panjab,” and he identifies it “with the Daídala of Ptolemy which was on the *Sutlej* [sic] to the south of Labokla and Amakatis, or Lahor and Ambakâpi.” In one of his Arch. Rep. p. 140, he had “identified Daídala with *Dehli*.”

I beg to observe that Debál-púr never yet stood on the banks of the Sutlaj, nor anything near it. The Sutlaj has repeatedly inclined from east to west, but never yet from *west to east*. It never approached farther *west* than where it united with the Biah, when, losing their respective names they became the Machhú-Wáh, Hariári, Nili, or Gharah (in the lower half of its course). That river even now, in no place is less than eighteen miles from Debál-púr, and that is to the south-east. In another place he says: “It seems highly probable, therefore, that he [Perdikkas] despatched by Alexander to the east of the Ravi, may have carried the Greek arms to Ajudhan on the banks of the Sutlej, from which his march would have been along the course of that river by Ludhan, Mailse, Kahrur, and Lodhran to Alexander's camp at Uchh.”

Only, the Sutlaj never yet flowed *by* Ajuddhan (see following note 421), which is not on the Sutlaj's banks and never was; and it is only since the end of the last century, when the Biah and Sutlaj by uniting formed a new river, referred to above, that the Sutlaj approached within twenty-four miles of Ajuddhan, and only a century or two before was more than forty miles east of it. When the Biah and Sutlaj, after temporarily uniting at Loh Wál, formed the Hariári or Núrní of Abú-l-Fazl, as mentioned at page 372, and separated into three branches, the lesser, and middle stream of the three, flowed some miles past Ajuddhan on the east, and is represented by the Súkh Ná'e. The other two were the Biah, which continued to flow in its own channel, while the Sutlaj turned south and re-entered its old channel represented by the *dandah* or high bank. All this, however, *happened in very recent times*. The “carrying of the Greek arms to Ajudhan,” and “Alexander's camp at Uchh” depends upon whether these places existed twenty-three centuries ago, and certainly the rivers did not flow then as now, nor anything like it. The latest great change in the courses of these two rivers, as before noticed, took place near the close of the last century; and at page 217 of his book, Cunningham says himself, that “the Satlej suddenly changed its course in 1796,” but, at page 221, he says “in 1790.” It was not the Sutlaj only, for the Biah did the same.

However, there is one great obstruction to the “Greek arms,” being “carried to Ajudhan” and Debál-púr also, as may be seen in note 390, page 381. All ancient



Pattan.<sup>421</sup> From thence to within four miles south-south-east of Mubárah-púr, about two miles and a half south of the Got of

writers agree, I believe, that the Hyphasis represents the Biah, and the Sutlaj the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru, even by Cunningham's own statements. As Alexander's troops mutinied on the banks of the Hyphasis, and refused to cross, and he had to turn back without crossing it, how could the "Greek arms" have been "carried to Ajudhan," which was a considerable distance east and beyond that river? I suppose it is not intended to assert that the Biah and Sutlaj then united at "Bhao ki patan?" See also note 345, page 343, and preceding note 418, page 397.

<sup>421</sup> In the Hindí dialect there are two words, which in the Arabic character in which Urdú is written, are something alike, but, in pronunciation and in signification they are very different, namely, *paṭan* and *pattan*. The former means a *ferry* and the latter a *town*. Out of these words a sad mistake has been made in consequence of not knowing the difference, and jumping at conclusions.

Cunningham in his "Ancient India," page 219, states, that "Ajudhan, or Pák Pattan" was for centuries the principal *ferry of the Sutlaj*;" and is "recognized as one of the towns of the people—" says one of the Punjab Gazetteers—"variously mentioned by Alexander's historians as Ohydrakæ [sic], Sydrakæ, Sudrakæ, Surakousæ and Hydarakæ," and then it adds: "It is from this Faríd-ud-dín, familiarly and better known as Bába Faríd, that the name Pák Pattan, or "*ferry of the pure one*, is ascribed." Then, in another place, after all this, it is stated, that, "it is from a ferry over the Bisharat nallá that Pák Pattan derives its name," and which *nallá* is said to pass "close to Pak Pattan." In another place in the same "Gazetteer," we find the following: "The truth of the story is doubtful. The name may have been changed to Pák Pattan on account of a ferry over the Bisharatwah, but the town was known as Ajudhan in Tamerlane's time. In the Aín-i-Akbarí it is called simply *pattan* or "the ferry." \* \* \* In fact Pák Pattan means simply the "holy *pattan*." Such is a specimen of "Gazetteer" history.

It so happens that the place is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, as well as the Pák Pattan, its old name, that is to say its original name, being Ajúddhan. It is mentioned in the Aín-i-Akbarí as the chief town of one of the *maḥálls* of the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *shubah*, and one of ten then situated in the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah of that *sarkár*, that is, between the Biah and the Sutlaj when they flowed separately, but not when united into one. This is explained in the account of the rivers at page 372.

It is not called the Pák Pattan or the Pattan-i-Panj-áb on account of any *ferry* whatever, much less a ferry over the Sutlaj, because the Sutlaj never yet flowed nearer to it than it does at present; while in the last century, it was twenty-four miles east of it, and before that again, it was upwards of forty miles, and in the time of the Shaikh still farther off. *Pattan* as I have said before means 'a town,' and *paṭan* 'a ferry,' and in the Aín-i-Akbarí it is the former word, and not explained as "the ferry;" and, in the Akbar Námah, it is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, but

Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, also mistook پتن for پتن. The place is mentioned by several historians as "the Pák Pattan" or "Holy Town," on account of its having been the residence and burial place of the Sultán-uz-Záhidán, Faríd-ul-Millat wa ud-Dín, Ganj-i-Shakar, these being his Musalmán designations, not

Ḳá'im Khán, the Ra'ís, and at about the same distance south of Khair-púr in the Baháwal-púr state, where it makes a sharp bend towards the south for about twelve or thirteen miles, and indicating the course it once took in the direction of Moj Garh towards the Hakrá or Wahindah. After this it turns nearly due west again, and reaches within about three or four miles of the town of Baháwal-púr. From this point again it makes a sharp bend to the south, showing another direction which it formerly took towards the Hakrá in the direction of Dín Garh or Trehára, where the action of water is plainly indicated in the direction of that place, situated on the south bank of the last named river channel. After a few more bends of minor importance, it reaches within about six miles south of Ahmad-púr, where the land slopes gradually from the banks of the present Ghárah, near its junction with the Chin-áb, towards the channel of the Hakrá, after which the old Sutlaj channel runs in a south-westerly direction towards Khair Garh, Derah, Chaudarí, Firúzah, Khán-púr, Koṭ-i-Sambah (I wonder this has not been "identified" as the capital of the dominions of *Sambus*), and Noh-Shahrah, which places it passes within from eight to three miles or less on the east. After this, the traces of this last bed in which

his simple name, *viz.*, "The Sultán of Recluses, the Incomparable or Unique of the Faith and of Religion, the Hoard of Sugar, *i. e.*, Eloquence." His father's names were Jalál-ud-Dín, Sulímán, who was descended from Farrúkh Sháh (a Sayyid not a King), Kábulí, and the saint himself was brought up at Ḳuṭub-Wál, a dependency of Multán. According to all chroniclers the saint died on Saturday, the 5th of Muḥarram, 668 H. (4th September, 1269 A. D.), just ten years after the "Tabáḳát-i-Náṣirí" was completed by its author.

Ajúddhan or "the Pák Pattan," from the time the Sikhs became predominant in these parts, went rapidly to ruin. At the time of the Survey near the close of the last century, it is thus described:—

"Ajúddhan is an ancient place situated on a high mound, in such wise that it is visible for a distance of two or three *kuroh*. Before the arrival of the Sultán-uz-Záhidán, it was the abode of Jogís and other Hindú recluses. *After the saint had been buried there, it became known as the Pák Pattan—Holy Town—*and the shrine is situated near the south side of the parapet, consisting of a high domed building, a large *masjid*, and a rest-house for travellers. The interior domed building over the tomb itself is about three times the stature of a man in height, and has two entrances. Within are two tombs, one that of the saint, and the other that of his eldest son, buried near on the west side of his father. The entrance on the south side is called the Bihishtí Darwázah, which is only opened on the 6th of Muḥarram [the day following the anniversary of his death], in the evening, which is the time for making offerings at the shrine, and is kept open for three watches. A vast concourse of people assemble from far and near, and pass through this Bihishtí entrance; and whoever does so, it is said, on that person the fire of hell has no effect." The writer observes, in the *MS.*, that "such is exceedingly easy for the Almighty to effect, if He would but do so."



the Sutlaj flowed independently to unite with the Hakrá becomes mixed up with the channels of that river, the whole country for several miles between Khán-púr and Khair Garh being seamed with channels and banks formed by the action of water. Indeed, a space of some forty miles to within a short distance of Fath Garh or Nowá Kot farther east, and farther south-west into Sind, is literally covered with these traces of the rivers Sutlaj and Hakrá until they again unite so to say, between Khán-púr and Khair Garh; and the dry channel of the latter river, which appears in the maps as the “broad, dry bed of the Raine Nullah or Wahind,” becomes, near Baghlah and Sáhib Garh, more distinctly defined, and near which, at the Dosh-i-Ab, or “Meeting Place of Waters,” in ancient times, the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind (which it had joined above Uchchh), united with the Hakrá, and the Mihrán of Sind was formed.

“Likewise, from the eastward of the Burj-i-Bakhho Ját (the “Pk Boorj,” and “Bicha Boorj” of the maps, apparently) on the way to Hindon, another old bed exists, which is also said to have once been the bed of the Sutlaj; while at Ráhún, farther north, close to which place it formerly ran, and now four miles north of the present channel, there is a large lake three or four *kuroh* in length, which, it is stated by the people of these parts, was once part of the old bed of the Sutlaj.”

“The erection of this domed chamber and entrance is ascribed to the saint, Nizám-ud-Dín, Ahmad, the Bud’úní, and it is said, that he repeated the whole of the Kur’án over every brick of which it was built. Close to the Bihishtí entrance, on the east side, there are about 2,000 or 3,000 bricks, which were left after the completion of the dome, and these were subsequently used in the erection of a sort of chabútarah [a raised platform or seat] about the height of a man. The east entrance to the shrine is kept open at all times for people to pass to and fro. It is stated, that, when Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Tughluk Sháh, made a pilgrimage to the shrine, he was desirous of removing the domed building over the tomb, and erecting another, but the saint having appeared to him in a dream forbidding it, he desisted, and, instead, erected another lofty one of bricks and mortar, near by on the east side. In that building eleven descendants of the saint are buried, who succeeded to his prayer-carpet. The above-mentioned Bádsháh, likewise, founded a large masjid on the west side of the shrine of the saint; and between it and the masjid, there is a small chamber or cell roofed with wood, containing two tombs and a rest-house for travellers to the south, adjoining the walls of the fort. All these buildings can be seen from the south for a distance of three or four *kuroh*.

“The shrine of Hazrat, Sháh Badr, who was the son-in-law, and disciple of the saint, the Shaikh, the Faríd-ul-Millat-wa-ud-Dín, is situated adjoining the Shahídí Darwázah, and is covered with a brick-built dome. Formerly, the town was not enclosed within walls, but in the year 1190 H. (1776 A. D.), Pír Subhán, erected a wall all round of kiln-burnt brick, in which were five gateways, and three

This was the old channel of the river when it united with the *Bíáh* at *Loh-Wál* or *Lohí-Wál*, and its right or northern bank is well defined. After passing close under *Ráhún* it winds considerably, runs close under *Filúr*, and opposite *Álí-Wál* the river now flows close to this old bank; but the old bank here turns suddenly towards the north for some seven miles, then westwards by *Mahúd-púr* and *Sháh Koṭ* to *Loh-Wál* or *Lohí-Wál* ("Loheean" of the maps), where the junction with the *Bíáh* formerly took place, and then turns south-west towards the other old channel, previously described, by *Tihárah*, *Dharm Koṭ* and *Jírah*.

Thus it will be seen, that, before the junction with the *Bíáh*, the *Sutlaj* hereabouts had flowed at different times between these two banks over a tract of country considerably depressed, in some places ten or twelve miles broad, and sixteen in its broadest parts, and which

posterns. The south gate, adjoining the *Khán-ḳáh* of the saint, is named the *Darwázah-i-Mauj-i-Daryá* [that is, literally, towards the river wave or surge—the inundation side—from whence it could be seen, probably—but it did not follow that the *Hariári* or *Nílí* ever reached within many miles of it], and opens on high ground; the *Shahídí Darwázah* on the south-east side, on level ground; the *Láhorí Darwázah* on the east side, also on level ground; the *Morí Darwázah* on the north-west, at the angle of the wall, opening on a height; and the *Rahmún Darwázah* on the west side, on high ground. This gate is also known as the *Multání Darwázah*. A short distance outside this gateway to the west, there are a few ancient buildings, and it is said that these formed the property of the saint, and are now in ruins. A little farther west again is the shrine of 'Azíz, *Makkah-í* [that is, of *Makkah*] who, it is asserted, was one of the companions of the prophet, *Muḥammad*, who was here buried. It is a grave plastered over with mud mortar, but, is enclosed within brick walls; and south of it is a large *maşjid*, founded by *Sultán Ghíyás-ud-Dín, Taghluḳ Sháh*." In another place it is stated, that, "To the north of the *hişár* there is a great lake, three or four *kuroh* long and nearly as broad. The place was completely ruined by the famine of 1197 H. (A. D. 1783.)"

This *Sultán*, before he came to the throne, as *Ghází Malik*, held the fief of *Debál-púr*, to which *Ajúḍḍhan* belonged. He came to the throne of *Delhí* in 720 H. (1320 A. D.). The town was then known as "the *Pák Pattan*," (this is a *little* before "the reign of Akbar"), as well as *Ajúḍḍhan*. *Abú-l-Fazl*, in the *Akbar Námah*, states, that, in 979 H. (1571-72 A. D.), while at *Ajmír*, *Akbar Bádsháh* determined to proceed to *Nág-awr* and the adjacent parts, and from thence to go and visit the shrine of the *Shaikh Faríd*, at the *Pattan-i-Panj-áb*. He accordingly went; and on the way thither, at the *Tal-wanḍí* of 'Alá-ud-Dín, near the river, which in this tract of country they call the *Hariári*, he hunted the wild ass in the *şahrá* and the *registán*, that is, the open uncultivated country—the wilderness, so to say—and the sandy desert. He killed thirteen wild asses; and was, at times, distressed for want of water. If this *Tal-wanḍí* could be correctly identified, which at this lapse of time would be very difficult, it would throw some light upon his route, and also on the course of the river *Sutlaj* at that period. See note 236, page 273.



depression is about twenty-five feet below the level of this part of the district.

In the space between these high banks there is another old channel, running in this great depression near the southern high bank here referred to, which runs a little north of west from near Tihárah, and with a very winding course for some twenty-six miles. It then bends more towards the south-west, passes close to Fírúz-púr, and from thence on to within about two miles and a half of Khá'e, and almost parallel to the present course of the Hariári or Níli, but about five miles east of it, down to within seven and a half miles of Fázil ká, when it unites with the present channel. The northern part of this channel in the Fírúz-púr district, is what is referred to by Mr. E. L. Brandeth, C. S., in his Settlement Report of that district, dated 1854, under the name of "Sukha Nai"—Súkhá Ná'e—Dry Channel<sup>422</sup>—but the lower part, where it turns to the south-west from Fírúz-púr, and passes between Bázid-púr and Khá'e, is what he also refers to, as far as the Fírúz-púr district extends, as "a still lower *danda* marking a later river course." The ancient channel of the Sutlaj farther east he distinguishes from this one, as the "*great danda*," which is "very strongly marked" in the Fírúz-púr district.

This "lower" or lesser "*danda*" evidently marks the later channel in which the united streams flowed after their first junction, when they became the Machhú-Wáh, Hariári, or Níli, and when, after running in one channel for about twelve *kuroh* or twenty-one miles, they again separated, as previously described, the Bíáh returning to its old channel and retaining its old name; while the other turned southwards into the low sandy tract between the ancient bed of the Sutlaj and the present Hariári or Níli, and cut this intermediate channel, which retained the latter names. The soil along this intermediate bank or lower *dandah*, is sandy, and covered with sand hillocks.<sup>423</sup> It will also be noticed that part of this intermediate channel

<sup>422</sup> Mr. Brandeth says: "There is a curious old channel, called the Sukha Nai, or "dry channel," between the new and the old beds of the river [Sutlaj], which has its origin near Tihára, whence it runs in a very serpentine course along the whole length of the district to near Mamdot. Notwithstanding its winding course, the banks of the channel are so regularly formed as to have induced many to think it entirely artificial [just like the Sidh or Sidhú Ná'e mentioned at page 370]. More probably, however, it was originally a natural water-course, afterwards shaped into a canal. Its breadth is 100 feet, and its depth 7 or 8 feet. As recently as forty years ago, it is stated that some little water flowed into it, but since then it has remained quite dry."

Parts of this old channel have since been utilized for inundation canals.

<sup>423</sup> The whole tract of country around, near the present place of junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj, is seamed with old channels of the latter river, and abandoned

was, in one part, intersected by the present river, and that it branches off from it towards the south, about fifteen miles south of Ajúddhan or the Pák Pattan, between Laluh ká and Chawí kí, and which branch, even in the maps which miscall the river the Sutlaj, still appears as the "Hariari." It runs almost parallel to the present river for about thirty-two miles or more, passing within one mile of Kásim ká on the south, and down to near Muhár and Jhindú ká Shahr,<sup>424</sup> where it inclines towards the south in the direction of Mubárak-púr, and its traces are lost in the remains of the old channel of the Sutlaj or great *dandah*.

We learn from the Memoirs of that extraordinary man, George Thomas, that the Sutlaj in his time [1798] "flowed towards the south from near Fírúz-púr, in the channel called the *Danda* or high bank of the Sutlaj;"<sup>425</sup> and I fully believe, that the intermediate channel above noticed, and mentioned by Mr. Brandeth as a "lower *danda*," is what is referred to in his "Memoirs."

Towards the close of the last century, the river ceased to flow in this channel, consequent on both the Bíáh and Sutlaj finally uniting at Harí ke Paṭan, abandoning altogether their former channels, and forming the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah as it at present flows. In this instance, the action of the Bíáh was contrary to that of all the other rivers of this part, which, in the course of ages, had inclined from east to west. The Bíáh, however, could not do as the others had done, because the country from its right high bank, which rises in places, some forty feet above the tract over which it had flowed from time to time, *slopes gradually down* towards the channel of the now united Bíáh and Sutlaj; and the fact that, around Ajúddhan or the Pák Pattan, the country is some thirty feet or more above the bed of the united rivers, this, together with the gradual rise of the country towards the west, prevented, in the same manner, the Sutlaj from inclining farther westwards.<sup>426</sup>

sites show how often, from its continual changes, the inhabitants have had to abandon their homes and move elsewhere.

The sandy soil and hillocks along the banks of the rivers of these parts are known by the general term of *sothrah*.

All the old sites lying along the course of the dry channel of the Sutlaj, the "great *dandah*" described at page 398, which passes by Makhtí-sar, are situated on mounds.

<sup>424</sup> It is about fifteen miles east of Ludhan, and nine miles north of Mubárak-púr. The "Jhidu ka Sheher" of the maps.

<sup>425</sup> According to the map given in the Memoirs of George Thomas, the channel referred to therein, is still farther *east* than the Uboh-har channel, but the mistake is apparent.

<sup>426</sup> If the Sultaj had inclined westwards farther up stream, then it *might* have cut a channel for itself in much *lower ground*, and have found its way into the



Another old channel of the Sutlaj requires to be noticed here, which runs still farther east than this *dandah*. It commences a little to the west of Rúh-para, from whence it takes a south-westerly course, passes within a short distance of “Chumkour” (six miles east of Bahlúl-púr) and “Kuhraalla” of the maps, and disappears after a distance of twenty-five miles. Of this ancient channel of the Sutlaj, either the “Eastern Nyewal,” or the “Dulwali Nyewal” of the maps, is the continuation. More on this subject will be found in the account of the Hakrá or Wahindah farther on.

Rennell, in his “Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan,” published in 1793, gives a map of the “countries between Delhi and Candahar;” and he makes the Hariári, under the name of “Kerah” (he meant the Ghárah, no doubt) turn southwards between Fírúz-púr and Kaşúr, which, after passing *close* to Ajúddhan (which it never did) on the east,<sup>427</sup> fifteen miles beyond it, throws off a branch more to the westward which re-unites with the Bíáh. Lower down still, another branch (making four instead of three), which is made to unite with the previous one near Koṭ Kabúlah; while the Sutlaj under the name of “Dena” (for Dandah) is made to bend more towards the west below Ajúddhan. This likewise, south of Multán, is made to unite again

old bed of the Bíáh. Indeed, there is a tradition that it did make the attempt near Fírúz-púr, but, meeting with some obstruction, turned aside again. There is no doubt but that water might be again brought into the bed of the old Bíáh, by a cut higher up stream.

<sup>427</sup> Cunningham (“Ancient India”) makes the “old Bias” pass some *sixteen miles west* of Debál-púr, but the extreme right high bank, beyond which it was physically impossible it could pass, is nowhere more than *eleven miles north-west* of Debál-púr; and the old bed, that is, *the old bed now traceable*, and the last in which it flowed independently before uniting with the Sultaj in the last century, is less than *five miles distant* from Debál-púr. He places the old bed in the middle of the tract of country between his *Hyphasis*, and *Zaradrus*, or *Hesudrus*, or *Satadru*; for he has all these names, while the most recent channel of the Sultaj before its junction with the Bíáh, called the “Danda” in our maps, and which I have described previously, is called the “*old Sutlej*.” I should call it the “young” Sutlaj, because it is the most recent, and after its junction with the Bíáh it was no more the Sultaj. I conceive that in whatever channel it might have flowed it was still the “Zaradrus, or Hesudrus, or Satadru,” *since it would not change its name with taking to a new channel as long as it flowed independently*. See last paragraph of note 420, p. 398, note 390, page 381, and note 345, page 343.

Alexander’s march is traced, in Cunningham’s work, by “Kot Kamália, Tulanba, and Multan;” and from thence downwards, his route is made to follow the banks of the rivers *as they at present flow*; as likewise Hwen Thsang’s route from Shor Koṭ along the banks of the Chin-áb, as it at present flows, by “Multan, Uch, and Mithan-kot,” as though they had never altered for twenty-two centuries, and so on into Sind to Karáchi.

with the *Bíáh*, and to form one river under the name of “Galouğara” or “Setleje” (here making the usual mistake), which afterwards unites with the “Indus or Sinda,” at “Veh,” a place not known (at present certainly, and I cannot imagine from whence he obtained it), which he places a short distance north-west of *Sít-púr*, and thirty-five miles below *U'chchh*; while the *Chin-áb* and its tributaries, forming the *Panch Nad* or *Panj-Ab*, are made to run *close* under the walls of *Multán* on the west side, which it never did. He had heard of the facts respecting the different rivers as they then flowed, and which I have been here relating, but, unfortunately, he possessed not the local knowledge necessary, neither had he the benefit of actual surveys to go by, nor history to guide him, except the History of *Tímúr* contained in P. de la Croix's work, and therefore, he is deserving of much credit for what he was able to accomplish from reports. The high bank or *ḍandah*, marking the last independent channel of the *Sutlaj* appears in his map as the “*Chalescouteli Hills*,” but they are only made to commence a little east of *Ajúḍḍhan*, and are carried down towards *Sind*. Of course he derived this also from P. de la Croix, who says, that *Amír Timúr* “crossed the river *Dena*, and encamped on the hill of *Chalescouteli*,<sup>428</sup> ten miles distant from *Adjoudan*.” Then, aware of the existence of the well defined high bank or great *ḍandah*, *Rennell*, at once appears to have converted it into the “*Chalescouteli*” range of hills, because *Kháliš Kotlah*, the *Pír-i-Kháliš* of the present time, lay in that direction. The *ḍandah* is eighteen miles south-east of *Ajúḍḍhan*, but P. de la Croix, in his extracts from the *Zafar Námah*, makes a *kuroh* a mile only, while it is equal to a mile and three quarters.

Lower down again than the *Fírúz-púr* district, both in the *Ghugherah* or *Montgomery*, and *Multán* districts, the *Machhú-Wáh*, *Hariári*, *Níli*, or *Gháraḥ* has no high or defined bank, like that represented by the *ḍandah* or high bank of the *Sutlaj*, and the whole tract of country extending from the banks of the *Hariári*, *Níli*, or *Gháraḥ* to the commencement of the high plateau marking the extreme point reached by the *Bíáh* before it deserted its old channel, rises but very slightly, and is of comparative recent formation.

Of late years this river has set against the extreme southern point of the *Ghugherah* district, and the inundations have decreased considerably. This last, however, may be caused by the opening of new canals and utilizing old ones, and a greater expenditure of water for irrigation purposes, consequent on a settled government. The bank on one side is abrupt in many places, but it is not more than from ten

<sup>428</sup> See page 285.



to twelve feet above the cold weather level of the stream, which overflows its banks during the inundation season. In the lower part of its course, in many places in the Multán district, the bank is still lower, and the bed is full of quicksands. Sometimes, after inundations, it leaves a deposit of sand upon such land as its waters have covered, thereby spoiling them, and leaving such tracts a desert; and this it has done, *upon all occasions*, in every part it has deserted from time to time in its inclination from east to west, as shown by its old channels farther east, presently to be described.

Just to show some of the changes in the course of the Sutlaj, and, also of the Hariári, Níli, or Ghárah (when the Bíáh and the Sutlaj lost their former names after uniting), in less than a century, I will give a few extracts, as illustrations, from the Survey record. At that period—when the Survey was made—in going from Jírah (the “Zeera” of the maps) towards Debál-púr by way of Bázid-púr, six miles south-eastwards of Fírúz-púr, “the Sutlaj,” it states, “lies about half a *kuroh* on the right hand (that is, north-west), and the *kaşbah* of Fírúz-púr about four *kuroh*, also on the right hand. The Sutlaj having passed from Bázid-púr another three or four *kuroh* to the north-north-west, unites with the Bíáh, and receives the name of Machhú-Wáh and Hariári.

“In going from the same Jírah, by Gádí-Wálah, Phíro kí, ‘Al-ípúr and Bhák or Bahák, having proceeded four *kuroh* to the north-north-west, the road winding considerably, and through much *jangal*, you reach the Sutlaj, and crossing it by boat from the point called Paţan-i-Burhán to the other side, half a *kuroh* from the bank, is Mullá-Wálah, in the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah. \* \* \* Previous to the time of this Survey the Sutlaj used to flow north of Mullá-Wálah; and the south bank of the river the people call the Dandá or Dandah.”

Mullá-Wálah is the “*Moolanwala*” of the maps, which is now thrown out of the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and is fourteen miles from the nearest point in it. It forms part of the Jírah district of Fírúz-púr at present, but, at the time here referred to, it lay in the Bíst-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and Fírúz-púr lay Berún-i-Panch Nad, as it is termed, that is, without the area of the five rivers—extra Panj-áb—as it is at present.

Again: “In going from Baháwal-púr to the Goţ of Ká’im Khán, Ra’ís, leaving Baháwal-púr, you go one *kuroh* north-east and reach the Kadhhí river or Khán-Wá-han,<sup>429</sup> which, coming from the right

<sup>429</sup> The term *Wá-han* or *Wá-hah*, is derived from the Sanskrit वह्, ‘run,’ ‘flow,’ ‘glide,’ etc., and is the common termination to names of water-cuts, canals, and streams utilized as such, both in the Panj-áb and in Sind, but the word is invariably

hand, and passing near Uchchh, unites with the Ghárah. From the Kadhhí two *kuroh* in the same direction is Ratání [“Rotani” of the large scale Revenue Survey map], and the Nílí *daryá* [river] lies three *kuroh* on the left hand. The Sutlaj and Bíáh united in one channel, the people of this part call Hariári, Nílí, and lower down, Ghárah and Ghallú-Ghárah. From Ratání you go another three *kuroh* [to Muhí-Wál kí Thathí and from thence three *kuroh* more in the same direction to Bhakhí ká Dherá [“Bhakidera” of the maps]. After this, going another three *kuroh* in the same direction as before, you reach the Kadhhí or Khán-Wáhan again. \* \* \* Passing by Ichrání, you come to Khair-púr, a large *kaṣbah*, the place of residence of 'Umar Khán, Kahrání, the Dá'úd-pútrah, who pays allegiance to Baháwal Khán. The Nílí or Hariári lies five *kuroh* from it on the left hand,<sup>430</sup> and the Rúd-i-Kadhhí or Khán-Wá-han passes on the west side, under the walls of the *kaṣbah*.” Then, going by Aḥmad Sháh, now Aḥmad-púr, another village belonging to 'Umar Khán, and by Shaikh-Wá-han, where is the famous shrine, the Goṭ i-Ká'im Khán, Ra'is, is reached, where resides, Ká'im Khán, the Ra'is. The Kadhhí Rúd or Khán-Wá-hah passes close by the *kaṣbah* on the east side; while the *daryá* [the Nílí or Ghárah] lies four *kuroh* distant on the left hand<sup>431</sup> (west).” Then, in going from the Goṭ in question to Multán by way of Mailsí, the Survey account says: “going four *kuroh* north-west, you reach the Hariári or Ghárah, and pass by boat to the other side, and in going, the Kadhhí or Khán-Wá-han is crossed two or three times. Having crossed the Ghárah by boat, you proceed six *kuroh* west, inclining north-west [W. N. W.], and Mailsí is reached, passing by many villages, and through much *jangal*, by the way. From thence you go fifteen *kuroh* [allowing for windings: it is really twenty-two miles as the crow flies] to Núr Muḥammad ká Tibbah [“Tibba” of the maps], passing by the way two or three small villages, and through much *jangal*. Half way the channel of a great river is reached, which is that of the Bíáh, which once flowed therein; and from the time it left its channel near Ḳaṣúr and the neighbourhood of Debál-púr, and united with the Sutlaj [see pages 372 and 374], this channel became dry. In the time of the inundation, in the rainy season, it still flows, and *opposite Baháwal-púr unites with the Ghárah*,” etc.

written 'Wah' in the maps and some Gazetteers, as if the word meant 'bravo,' 'well done,' and the like, which is Persian, and Wá-hah is not. The “Sind Gazetteer,” however, says “*Vah*” means a canal!

<sup>430</sup> It is now only two miles and a half, or about a *kuroh* and a half.

<sup>431</sup> At present it flows seven miles and a half west of it, and ten miles and a half north.



With respect to the course of the Ghárah lower down, the routes between Uchchh and the Derah of Ghází Khán show great changes there likewise, and also in the course of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. “Setting out from Uchchh, and proceeding one *kuroh* west,<sup>432</sup> you reach the Ghárah, which you have to cross by boat, and having so done, you go four *kuroh* a little to the north of west, and reach the Chin-áb.<sup>433</sup> After this you proceed six *kuroh* farther in the same direction, and reach the banks of the Ab-i-Sind and cross by boat, after which another *kuroh* takes you to Sit-púr, a large village on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind. The people here generally call all these three rivers Ab-i-Sind, the whole of which, six or seven *kuroh* to the right hand (north) having united, again separate.”

At the present time, the Ghárah is eleven miles north of Uchchh, where the Chin-áb and its tributaries unite with it, and form the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, which flows forty-two miles as the crow flies, in the direction of south-west before it unites with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. Sit-púr is now three miles or more west of the Panj-Ab, and the Sind flows eighteen miles west of Sit-púr.

Likewise, at the time this Survey was made, in going from Rattá or Rattá-Mattá (the “Kot Ratta” of the maps—about two miles and a half from the east bank of the main channel of the Indus in 1871, and thirty-two miles south of the Derah of Ghází Khán) to Uchchh, you went from thence to Alí-púr, then on the bank (*lab*) of the Indus. It is now fifteen miles east of the Indus, and a few years since it was ten miles and a half only. Rasúl-púr, and Ghaus-púr (not that referred to at page 308) were also on the banks of the Indus, but the latter, according to the map of 1859, was nine miles from the east bank, and by the 1871 map, it was seven and a half. Játú-í, when this Survey was made, was close to the bank of the Indus, and in 1871, it was five and a half miles from the main channel; but, at this point, the river, at the latter date, flowed in five channels, and the smallest of the five, was within a mile and a quarter of that place; and four miles and a half farther west, on the same map is marked “*old Puttun*.”

Consequently, when this Survey was made, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus flowed from Rattá-Mattá in a direction a little to the east of south, close by that place, and downwards by Játú-í, Alí-púr, and Sit-púr on the east, as previously stated at page 303.<sup>434</sup> A glance at a late map will thus show what vast changes have occurred in the course of less than a single century, which changes are always going on.

<sup>432</sup> It is now six miles and a half west of Uchchh, or lately was.

<sup>433</sup> See page 349, confirming this account.

<sup>434</sup> See also my *Notes on Afghánistán*, etc., page 664, and foot-notes.

The bend in the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind just below "Keenjur" of the maps, fourteen miles south-south-west of the Derah of Ghází Khán, will show the direction in which it flowed at that period.

It now remains to notice the still more ancient channels of the Satadru or Sutlaj, which appear in our maps as "Nyewal N.," of which there are three, not two only, as mentioned in the Calcutta Review paper on the "Lost River," and the map appended thereto; and also in the map appended to Mr. R. D. Oldham's article on the same subject in the Society's "Journal," Part II of 1886. The middle one of these three channels appears in our maps as the "*Dulwali Nyewal*" because it passes by "*Dubwali*" of the same maps, probably. There can be no doubt, however, that the Sutlaj, in ancient times, and at different periods, flowed in these three ancient channels. The whole country west of Rúh-par, near which the waters of the Sutlaj issue from the hills, where changes are less likely to occur than in sandy, level plains, as far nearly as Lúdhíánah west, is more or less seamed with channels, some larger than others, although they are, from being partially utilized as canals, and the effects of rain, and other causes, being gradually obliterated, and some are already nearly so. It is evident, that the river, hereabouts, in endeavouring to find its way to the southwards and south-westwards, has flowed over every part of it almost, from Rúh-par to Firúz-púr.

One of these old main channels, that of the western Ná'e Wálí,<sup>435</sup> can be distinctly traced a mile or thereabouts east of Cham-kaur, which is a little over eight miles south-west from Rúh-par, and six miles east of Bahlúl-púr.<sup>436</sup> The direction of its course points from near Rúh-par, and from thence in a south-westerly direction by Cham-kaur. It then passes east of Kakaralah, and from thence by Akhára, three miles south-south-east of Jagráon. From that point it can be traced, more or less distinct, and in a few places nearly obliterated, in the same south-westerly direction, to some three miles south of Maháráj,<sup>437</sup> and from

<sup>435</sup> The meaning of this compound word is not very clear, *Wál* or *Wál-ah*, or *Wá-lí* means 'a stream,' 'river' 'running water,' also 'the false appearance of water in a sandy waterless desert tract—*mirage*.' The meaning ascribed to *ná'e* is 'a tube,' 'passage,' 'canal,' 'channel,' 'water-course,' but from what is mentioned at page 447, it seems to be used in the same sense as *nahr*, which means, 'a rivulet,' 'a river' 'running water.'

Mackeson, in his "Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage from Lodiana to Mithankot by the river Satlaj in 1832-33," states, that, "at Jane-gill, 12 miles below Hari-ke, the united streams of the Beás and Satlaj, are called Ghara, but known to the natives by the name of *Nai*."

<sup>436</sup> "Bhilolpoor" of the maps.

<sup>437</sup> "Mehraj" and "Mehrajpur" of different Survey maps, and about sixteen miles to the north-eastwards of Bhatindah.



thence about four miles north-west of Bhaṭṭindah<sup>438</sup> and on towards Mal-oṭ, three miles east of which the channel becomes very distinct again. From Mal-oṭ, which is a short distance to the north of its right bank, it continues to run to Uboh-har, which is close to its south or left bank. At present, higher up, a canal is to be brought into this channel from the Sahrind canal system, if it is not actually running at this time.

The direction of the central of the three old channels, called “Nyewal N.” and “Dubwali N.” in the maps, takes a course somewhat more to the south-south-west than that just noticed; but, although its channel is not quite so distinct upwards, it also comes from the direction of Rúh-par and Cham-kaur, at which former point, or near it, it branched off, and can be traced into Budhúr,<sup>439</sup> just thirty miles to the north-eastwards of Bhaṭṭindah, nearly thirty-two miles above Dab-Wálí, and some thirty-eight miles in the direction of south-south-west from Akhára. It passes close to Dab-Wálí on the north, and Fath-púr on the south, and subsequently bends towards the west, and unites with the channel passing Mal-oṭ and Uboh-har.

The third or easternmost of these old channels evidently came from the same direction as the other two, as the slope of the country which declines from north-east to south-west, and the direction of the channel show.<sup>440</sup> At present it is not very distinct, for the reason pre-

<sup>438</sup> Bhaṭṭindah, which is a very ancient place, I believe to be the identical place referred to, the idol temple of which “split asunder on the night that Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín was born,” and not Uhand on the west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus above Aṭak, miscalled “Ohind.” It will be remembered that the Hakrá is also called the Wahind and Wahindah, and the temple is called “the But-Khánah of Wahind.” See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣiri*, p. 76, and note 2.

The *Tárikh-i-Yamíní*, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd’s victory over “Brahman-Pál, son of Anand Pál,” states, that they met on the banks of the “Wahind river”; and, in another place, it is related in the account of the capture of Kal-Chand’s stronghold, which seems to refer to one of the old ruined fortresses on the banks of the Hakrá or Wahindah, between Bhaṭṭúr and Wal-har, that “a foaming river flowed on the other side of the fortress,” and that “the infidels, in attempting to cross it,” were drowned in great numbers. See page 415.

<sup>439</sup> “Budhaur” of the maps, to the north-eastwards of Bhaṭṭindah, not the place about eighteen miles east of Bhaṭṭindah.

<sup>440</sup> In his “Ancient Geography of India” (p. 144), Cunningham, referring to the “district of Satadru” — the “She-to-tu-lo or Satadru, described by the Chinese pilgrim as having a large river on its western boundary” — says: “the position of Satadru will correspond almost exactly with the large city of Sarhind or frontier of Hind’.”

“Sarhind,” however, is not the correct name of this place, neither is “Sirhind.” It is Sahrind and that does not mean “frontier of Hind.”

viously mentioned, until within about seven or eight miles north-west of the fort of Bhíkí, where it runs nearly parallel to the central or Dab-Wáli channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between them, to within nine miles north-east of Bhatnír. Here it becomes less distinct, but it united with the Ghag-ghar near the fortress of Bhatnír on the north side, and subsequently with the Hakrá or Wahindah twenty-one miles farther to the south-west. Into this channel, likewise, a canal has been brought from near Rúh-par: in fact, these canals, it may be said, or their proposed extensions, will run all the way, or nearly so, in these ancient channels of the Sutlaj.<sup>441</sup>

The channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, after this junction, is clear and distinct, and has been already described; but, the channel of the united Uboh-har and Dab-Wáli branches, which unite near Karár-Wálah, about twenty-nine miles below Uboh-har in the direction of south-west, and nearly eleven miles north-west of Gaṇes Garh, is, in some places, not quite so distinctly apparent, but can still be traced to

Then, because this "large river" does not appear at present, although the position corresponded "almost exactly" with his "Sarhind," Hánsí is thought of, by applying "a correction" of only 110 miles; but this, too, not being quite satisfactory, he adds: "as it was bounded on the west by a great river which cannot be the Satlej or Satadru, it is quite impossible that Hansi can be the place intended, as it is upwards of 130 miles distant from *the nearest river*."

There is nothing in what the Chinese pilgrim says to prevent Sahrind being the place referred to, because, when the Sutlaj or Satadru flowed in the oldest channel that we know of, which I have here pointed out, it flowed not more than seventeen or eighteen miles west of Sahrind; and the Sutlaj or Satadru is said to have formed the boundary between the territory of the Panj-áb and Hindústán.

Hánsí *now* is certainly distant from any great river, but at the period of the Chinese pilgrim, and long after his time, the Chitang, which, with the Sarsutí or Saraswatí, formed the Hakrá or Wahindah, was *a great river, and flowed within a few miles of Hánsí*; and the Ghag-ghar, also a great river in those days, and the Sarsutí or Saraswatí by no means a small river, *both flowed within twenty-three miles of Hánsí*.

In one of his Archæological Reports, Cunningham says, that, "Satadru or Sirhind in the plains formed part of the states of the Rajput Kings of Kangra," which Mr. Barnes, the Settlement Officer of that district, discredits.

The Editor of Elliotts' Indian Historians (Vol. IV. p. 519) tells us, that, "Tabarhinda is an old name for Sirhind," in which I beg most distinctly to differ from him.

<sup>441</sup> The ancient channels of nearly all these tributaries of the Hakrá, mentioned herein, have been, or are being, utilized as canals, sometimes without its being generally known what rivers once flowed in them. Very shortly, therefore, all the ancient traces of them will be obliterated or altogether lost. See note <sup>496</sup>, page 442 where some of the causes of the decrease in the volume of the Ghag-ghar are mentioned.



within twenty-four miles of Walh-har on the Hakrá, and beyond, in the Baháwal-púr territory. The direction of its course shows that it united with the latter, or main river, a little to the north of Márúṭ, lower down stream, near which, at the time the Survey quoted from was made, it could be distinctly traced, as mentioned at page 423. North and west of Márúṭ the channel of the Hakrá is very broad and distinct.

The facts I have here related, and the extracts I have given, show clearly, that in each of these three Ná'e Wáli channels the Sutlaj once flowed; and, that it has, in the course of ages, deserted one channel after another as it got silted up, covering the country between with a sandy deposit,<sup>442</sup> in inclining from east to west, a distance altogether of some eighty-five miles now intervening between its easternmost channel, and that in which it, along with the Bíáh, under the new names of Hariári, Níli, and Ghárah, now flows. The three channels above described, are, unquestionably, older than that of the great Dandah or Dandá,<sup>443</sup> and the easternmost of the three is the oldest.

If we merely take into consideration the heights of the different places above the sea level from Rúh-par to Fírúz-púr from east to west, we shall find the reason why the Sutlaj took a course nearly due west from Rúh-par by Lúdhíánah, and Dharm-Ḳoṭ, and to the north of Fírúz-púr, where it united with the Bíáh in the last century. While Rúh-par is 900 feet above the sea, Lúdhíánah is 806, "Dallowala," west of Dharm-Ḳoṭ, 727, and north of Fírúz-púr 650. On the other hand, if we take the levels from along the parallel of 75° E. Longitude, which cuts across the ancient channels in which the Sutlaj formerly flowed, we shall find, that, as we go south, the country gradually rises from 700 feet at Mogah (I here give the map names for facility of reference, but they are all written in the same peculiarly incorrect way) to 759 at Daraoli of one map, and Duroulee of another, a rise of 42 feet. After this again the country gradually declines, and at Alkwala of one map and Ulkawala of another, it is 737 above the sea, at Ahmadwala 729, at Thuna, seven miles to the south-west of Bhaṭindah, 703, at

<sup>442</sup> The Sutlaj held, and the Ghárah, or Níli, or Hariári, through it, still holds, a great deal of sand in suspension, much more than the other rivers of these parts. See note 423, pages 403-406, and first paragraph of note 446, page 415.

<sup>443</sup> I do not know what the correct origin of this name may be, unless it is derived from the word ذَنْدَة, which means 'a pool' and the like; and it is from this, probably, that the word, written ذَهْدَة and ذَهْدَا, used in the Panj-áb territory and in Sind, comes, by which names the long, and narrow pools of water left in the channels of old rivers after inundations, are known; but the people on the banks of the old channel of the Sutlaj, in the Fírúz-púr district, apply this name to any high bank of a river.

Sarawa of one map, and Sarwa of another, immediately south of the so-called “Dulwali Nyewal,” 722, at Peeplee of one map, and Pipli of another 717, but another Table gives it at 692), and at Gorkhawali 679. From this point going farther south the country begins gradually to rise again, and at Choor Tibi, on the south bank of the Chúwá river, called the “War N.” in the maps (See page 442), it is 721 feet, but again sinks towards the channel of the Ghag-ghar to 704 feet a little south of Fírúz-ábád; while at Sirsá, nine miles and a quarter farther towards the north-west, it is 762 feet.

Continuing southwards on the same parallel, at Gidaranwala the height is 679 feet, and after that the elevation increases, until at Moria, nearly as far south as the parallel of Bikánír, the height above the sea is 1,080 feet; while on the same parallel westwards it declines from 1,080 feet to the depression in which the Haḡrá channel lies, and then rises again to 231 at Kanḡ Koḡ, a little west of the Indus.

Now let us examine the heights along the left bank of the united Sutlaj and Bíáh—the present Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah. At Fírúz-púr, as before stated, the elevation is 650 feet; and at Fazil ká it lessens to 585, at Pír-i-Khális (Amír Tímúr’s Khális Koḡlah) it is 548, while at Thuna, seventy-three miles farther *east*, the height, as stated above, is 703, or a difference of more than two feet to the mile from east to west. At Goḡ-i-Ká’im Khán, the Ra’is, it is 434 feet, at Baháwal-púr 375; and from thence to the banks of the Panch Nad, near the junction with the Indus, the height is 337 feet above the sea.

Such being the facts, as each of the successive channels of the Sutlaj became silted up, it could do no other than betake itself to lower ground, and being unable to incline east, it took to the west; and in the course of ages, has now, by its last change towards the close of the last century, when it deserted the Daḡdah channel, its last independent one, reached the lowest level of the country; <sup>444</sup> for west of the present channel of the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah, the ground begins to rise again, and the right high bank of the Bíáh to intervene; hence that river, when it deserted its old channel, could not

<sup>444</sup> The only points where the Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah is now at all likely to incline farther westwards, are north-west of Kásim ká, which is 492 feet above the sea, where it *might* enter the most depressed of the old channels of the Bíáh or its minor branches in case of any extraordinary flood; or lower down, ten miles north-east of Mailsí in the Multán district; or twelve miles and a half north-north-west of the Goḡ of Ká’im Khán, the Ra’is, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district, the country opposite lying somewhat lower at these points than others: indeed, within the last ten years, it has set against the southern part of the last named district north-west of Kásim ká.



flow west for the same reason, and, consequently, it turned east, and so met the Sutlaj, and formed the new river.<sup>445</sup>

The same causes that led the Sutlaj at Rúh-par to alter its course by degrees from south-south-west and south-west, to due west, in all likelihood, affected the Ghag-ghar, Sursutí, and Chitang more or less; and, at last, when the Sutlaj left the westernmost or Uboh-har branch of the so-called “Nyewal N.” channels (which it certainly had not done up to the time of Ibn Baṭúṭah’s journey to Dihlí, and which was still flowing when Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, marched from Pír-i-Kháliṣ to Bhaṭnír), and took to that called the Ḍandah in the present day, the waters of the Hakṛá, lower down, beyond the junction of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursutí, also failed. By degrees, the Chitang likewise, lessened by the canal of Sultán Fírúz Sháh,—and other minor cuttings probably, or from the same causes that led the Sutlaj to abandon its older channels—failed, except in time of floods, in reaching much beyond Bhádaṛá, and consequently, that feeder of the Hakṛá could barely reach Bhaṭnír. Likewise, the waters of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursutí alone, were not sufficient in volume (after the Sutlaj deserted it), to feed the Hakṛá, and it ceased to be a perennial river; but, up to the last century, it contained some water, and up to the present time (before the channel was utilized as a canal), in the rainy season, water still flowed in its channel as far down as Márúṭ and Moj Garḥ and beyond. Indeed, in some years during the present century, after copious rainy seasons, its waters have reached Lár or Lower Sind, and almost to the ocean.

On the other hand, as long as the Sutlaj continued to flow in an independent channel, its volume was sufficient to reach the channel of the Hakṛá, between Khair Garḥ and Ṣáhib Garḥ, to which latter place its last independent channel can be traced, but, below that it gets mixed up with the old channels of the Hakṛá. It can be traced upwards from thence; and the farther one goes up the more distinct it becomes.<sup>446</sup> As long as this junction continued, the Hakṛá was of

<sup>445</sup> According to the Geologist, Lyall, all rivers on being silted up betake themselves to the next lower level; and here, between Pír-i-Kháliṣ and Ajúḍḍhan the ground is lower than that of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj—the “great Ḍandah.” This will be found to be the case with respect to all the old channels I have described, the easternmost, which is the oldest, being the highest of all.

<sup>446</sup> “It has been observed of all large rivers, and been particularly mentioned by the same Geologist, that the silt with which their waters are charged is deposited during the season of overflow most abundantly near the edge of the stream, and in proportionally smaller quantity at a greater distance from it. It thus forms a natural *glacis*, the crest of which is on the river, and the slope falls away gradu-

sufficient volume, with its other tributaries, to reach Lár or Lower Sind, under the names of Sankrá or Sankrah and Sind-Ságar, as well as Hakrá or Wahindah.

The channel of what is now called the Nárah (*vul.* "Narra"), which is said to be only well defined, or rather, "to commence" near Faḳír-ábád, is merely the remains of the westernmost and lesser of the two branches, the Rá'in or Rá'iní branch—the "Rá'iní Nálah" of the present day—into which the Hakra separated between Kanḍháraḥ or Kanḍháro and Wanjh-rúṭ after it had united with its then tributaries at Dosh-i-Áb, and formed the "Mihrán of Sind" or "Great Mihrán."<sup>447</sup> This branch was diverted from Aror by the excavation of the commencement of a new channel, and the raising of a dyke at the same time, some twenty-six miles above that place on the east; for after this branch had been diverted, and had cut its way to the westward of the limestone range of hills where Bakhar and Rúrhí afterwards rose,<sup>448</sup> and subsequently, through the Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind deserting the Hakrá, and other changes noticed in another place, it ceased to flow from the Hakrá altogether. The waters of the latter, however, including the Sutlaj, lower down, near Kanḍháraḥ or Kanḍháro and Wanjh-rúṭ, again separated into two branches, one, the western and minor branch, finding its ally towards the boundary of the valley. That the Indus is not an exception to this rule will be seen on reference to the Cross Section (No. 1) across the valley at Sukkur, and the Profile (No. 2) showing the relative heights of the Bhawalpoor road and of a line nearly parallel to it, ten miles inland. A continuation of this process would gradually raise the level of the river-bed, until, during some extraordinary flood, it should burst its natural embankment and take to one of the lower tracts, to be, in its turn, raised and deserted. In the meantime the cross section of the valley would present the general features of a raised central channel with a depression on each side.

"On the east bank of the Sutlaj, from Rooper [Rúh-paṛ] to near Bhawalpoor, a depression of this nature is met with, and is believed to extend in a course parallel to that of the Garra [Ghárah] and Indus to Subzulcote [Sabzal Koṭ], from the vicinity of which it has been traced to the head of the Eastern Narra, about eleven miles east of Roree [Rúrhí]. It receives water from the river by direct overflow and innumerable canals, and its drainage, though variously interrupted, is the source of the Narra supply." "Report on the upper portion of the Eastern Narra:" Bombay Government Records, 1857.

This last part is not quite exact. Near Sayyidah, the Nárah unites with the main channel of the Hakrá, called Hakro by the people of Sind, and their waters still unite in time of floods.

<sup>447</sup> After the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind deserted the Hakrá for good, the name "Mihrán of Sind" or "Great Mihrán," applied to the whole of the rivers after their junction at Dosh-i-Áb, fell into disuse, and the names Hakrá, Wahindah, and Sankrah were again generally applied.

<sup>448</sup> At this period, no river separated Bakhar from Rúrhí, as in after times, as will be explained farther on; and those places then did not exist.



way into the diverted channel of the Rá'in or Rá'íní<sup>449</sup>—the Rá'íní Náláh of the present day—which, near Sayyidah, some eighty-five miles lower down stream, united with the main branch again, as the Rá'in branch had previously done. These channels still exist, and water still finds its way into them, but, the so-called Nárah “river,” on the other hand, merely arises from the overflow from the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which, considerably higher up, near Ghaus-púr, during the time of the inundations, finds its way by the ancient channel of the united Ab-i-Sind or Sindhu, and the Sind Rúd, or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Musalmán travellers, also known as the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, and now consisting of a great depression only, into the ancient channel of the diverted Rá'in branch of the Hakrá, which, before it was diverted, had flowed past Aror on the east.

Except in the season of inundation, this main branch is a mere series of lakes or *dhand*s, most of which, however, are of considerable size, and some as much as three miles and more in length, and half that extent in breadth.

It must also be remembered, that we continually read of the “rainy season” in the Multán province, up to,<sup>450</sup> and in the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Híndústán; but there is no rainy season now as in the parts farther east, and has not been for a long period of years, the influence of the monsoon not being felt so far westwards in the present day. These climatic changes must also have had effect on some of the rivers of this part. Between the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), and the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, a period of some two hundred years, great changes must have taken place in the courses of many of the rivers, to judge from the notice of them in the Á'in-i-Akbarí, finished in 1004 H. (1595-96 A. D.), and from the accounts of the English merchants, already narrated, who visited these western parts of the Mughal Empire in the following reign; and such being the case, other changes must have taken place during these intervals of time.

Thus it will be seen that in the course of ages, the Sutlaj, and all the other rivers west of it, including the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, some to a greater extent than others, have gradually deserted their old channels, as a glance at the map No. 1, will show, and moved westwards from

<sup>449</sup> This is evidently the river referred to by Al-Mas'údí at page 207; for the letters ج, د, and و, are somewhat similar in Mss., and if the point of the latter letter should be left out, as is constantly, and I may say, commonly done by scribes, the latter is likely to be mistaken for ج and د. See also note 114 to the page above-mentioned.

<sup>450</sup> See page 282.

the causes mentioned in the preceding note, 446, with the sole exception of the *Bíáh*, which, on account of the high plateau forming its extreme right or west bank, had to betake itself in the contrary direction, when it united with the *Sutlaj* and formed the *Hariári*, *Níli* or *Ghára*; and that the alterations in the course of the *Sutlaj*—"the *Satadru* of the *Hundred Bellies* or *Channels*"—have been far greater than in those of all the others. There has been, likewise, during the same period of time, great changes in the courses of the *Ghag-ghar* and the *Sursutí* and their tributaries, as will be shown in the notice of them farther on.

#### THE HAKRÁ, WAHINDAH, OR SIND-SÁGAR, AND THE CHITANG.

The Survey record says, with reference to this river, that "One of the principal tributaries of the *Hakrá*, and the easternmost, is the *Chitang*,<sup>451</sup> which is (now) dependent on rain, that is to say,

<sup>451</sup> Both *Cunningham* and the "Calcutta Review" writer make this name "Chitráng," whereas there is no 'r' nor long 'a' in the word, which is written چیتنگ. *Chitr-áng* is the name by which the hard, smooth portions of the soil of a part of the present desert tract is known, which extends for many miles together, as will be noticed in its proper place.

It was within two miles of the present south bank of the *Chitang*, between *Thání-sar* and *Karnál*, thirteen miles south of the former and ten north of the latter, that the two battles took place between *Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín*, *Muhammad*, son of *Sám*, the *Shausabáni Tájzik Sultán* of *Ghaznín* and *Rá'e Pithorá*, in the last of which the latter was overthrown, and killed in the act of flying. These battles were fought near *A'zim-ábád-i-Taláwarí* or *Taráwarí*—'l' and 'r' being interchangeable—otherwise *Tará'in Garh*, the "Turaoree" of the maps, nearer which, in ancient times, the *Sursutí* or *Saraswatí* may have flowed, for its course has changed considerably in the lapse of ages. See also *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, page 608 and note 8. *Dow* calls it "*Sirauri* on the banks of the *Sirsutty*," while *Briggs*, by way of improving it, turns it into "*Naráin* on the banks of the *Soorsutty*," by turning 't' into 'n'—ت for ن. *Mr. J. Dowson*, *Elliot's* editor ("Indian Historians," vol. II, p. 295) also makes it *Naráin* after the same fashion, as though such a word was contained in the text of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, which it is not, and in a foot note adds, that, "according to *Gen. Cunningham*, the battle-field of *Naráin* is on the banks of the *Rákshí* river;" but, as there was no battle of "*Naráin*," compilers of Indian history, according to the inaccurate manner so captivating to the English reader of "popular works," and the pernicious system of copying from each other, instead of seeing for themselves (if capable of so doing), stick to "*Naráin*." This seems, indeed, to be a favourite name, for *Sultán Mahmúd*, the Turk *Sultán* of *Ghaznín* (p. 449 of the same vol.) is brought to another "*Naráin*," but this one is supposed to be "*Anhalwára*, the capital of *Gujarat*."

*Wilford*, who notices this river *Chitang*, also makes the mistake of confounding its name with that of the *Chitr-áng Zamín*. He says (*As. Res.* vol. 9, p. 214), that "The river *Stranga* is now called the *Chitrangh* and *Caggar* [the *Ghag-ghar* he means]," but the *Ghag-ghar* was merely a tributary of the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah*,



its waters arise from the torrents flowing from the Siwálik range of hills north of Saḡhúrah. It runs, with many turns and bends, in a general direction of south-west, like all the rivers west of it, as far as the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus. It passes within half a *kuroh* of Láḡwá on the west, and about nine *kuroh* west of Kaṛnál towards Jíndh, a little more than five *kuroh* north-east of which, at Dahtrat, the waters of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh's canal from the direction of Safídún, farther east, unites with it. Here it winds considerably, passes close to Jíndh on the west side, then on to Ramrá, which it passes on the south and west.

and is totally distinct from the Chitang. He also says that the Chitrangh passes to the westwards of Thánú-sar [Thání-sar is meant], and, that although its waters are absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Bacar [Bakhar] on the Indus." From this it will be seen that he mistakes the Ghag-ghar for the Hakrá, of which it was merely a tributary.

It must also be remembered, that what has appeared in our maps as "the old Chautang nála," as the Chitang has been incorrectly styled, has been now utilized and called the "West Jamna Canal."

Ibn Aṣír, the Shámí, who relates some wonderful Indian history, says, that Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḡammad-i-Sám, whom he, too, will style "Shiháb-ud-Dín (his previous title before he came to the throne of Ghazní), having entered Hind and passed Multán, he proceeded to U'chchh. "At this time," he says, "the greatest of the Hákims (rulers) of Hind was a woman, whose sway extended over all the Rájahs, on account of the importance of her family, to which the greatest of the rulers of that country had belonged.

"The Sulṭán's army consisted of Ghúris, Khalj Turks, and Khurásánís, but he was overthrown; and being severely wounded by a champion of Hind with his mace, fell senseless to the ground, and, in the flight which ensued was passed by unrecognized. In the middle of the night his *ghuláms* returned to the field of battle to search for him, and, having found him, took it by turns to carry him on their shoulders; and after having gone all night in this manner, on foot, by morning they reached the city of U'chchh."

Then he says, that "on his safety being known, his dispersed troops rallied round him again, and his brother sent a fresh army to his assistance," not knowing, apparently, or at least, not noticing, what events transpired in the meantime, a period of nearly a year and a half; and, that Shiháb-ud-Dín, Muḡammad, turning his face towards Hind on this occasion with a fresh army, the people of Hind mustered a far greater force than before, so much so, that there was no *sahrá* (plain or open space) which could contain them. Shiháb-ud-Dín, filled with fear in consequence, had recourse to stratagem and deceit. He sent an agent to the Malukah (female sovereign) of Hind with promises of marriage; but, as she was aware of the deception he had previously practised on the wife of the Rájah of U'chchh. [See *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, note, page 450], she would not give ear to his offers in the least, and her reply was 'Fight, or return to Ghazní, and let that suffice.' He then tried another ruse, which was, that he might have time to send a messenger to his elder brother [his suzerain]. Knowing the position which Shiháb-ud-Dín held with respect to his elder brother, and the situation in which he now was, and conceiving that he did not desire to fight, she consented, and gave the requisite time

From thence it runs to Nárnol or Nárnor, which it passes near to on the east side, and runs to Hánsí, which having passed on the east and south, it turns to the westward, and runs in a direction a little to the north of west, winding considerably, to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, founded by the Sultán abovenamed. Passing close under its walls on the south side, it continues to run in the same direction to a point two *kuroh* and a half from that Ḥiṣár, to a place called Mátarsaum, where another channel branches off to Bhádaṛá. From thence it runs to Chhíní, about nine *kuroh* still farther west, where it turns south-westwards, winding considerably, to Bhádaṛá, rather more than a *kuroh* south-south-west of which the old channel from Mátarsaum again unites with it. Half way between, another old channel runs westwards, and again unites with it about two *kuroh* and a half farther down stream.

to enable him to receive a reply from his brother, the Sultán of Ghúr; and each of the hostile forces betook themselves to their respective positions.

Between the two hosts was a river, “the passage of which was everywhere impossible, save by means of a bridge or by boats”; and yet the historian says, that “wherever a passage was possible the place was carefully guarded by the Hindú forces. At this juncture one of the people of Hind came to Shiháb-ud-Dín, and told him that he knew of a place where the river was fordable, and would conduct him across in such wise that the Hindús would be entirely unaware of it until he should fall upon them. Shiháb-ud-Dín doubted at first whether or not some treachery was intended; but, as some of the people of Uchch and Multán became security for the man, Shiháb-ud-Dín despatched Amír Husain, son of Kharmíl, Ghúrí [the same who was previously governor of Síál Koṭ and afterwards Malik of Hirát. See *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, pages 453 and 475], at the head of a strong body of troops along with the man, to cross at the place he should point out, and then fall upon the encampment of the Malikah. It so happened that the man guided Amír Husain across the river in such a manner that he came upon the Hindús entirely unawares, until he had surrounded them. On this, Shiháb-ud-Dín, having obtained intimation of the success of the movement, mounted and crossed over likewise, which he was now easily enabled to do, the Hindús having abandoned the ferries [which he said before did not exist] and decamped. Shiháb-ud-Dín reached the camp of the Hindús, and made such slaughter among them that but few escaped, and the Malikah likewise perished. Such a vast amount of booty fell into the hands of the people of Islám as could not be computed; and Shiháb-ud-Dín acquired sway over the whole of the country of Hind, and all the contumacious Rájahs became submissive, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes. Shiháb-ud-Dín’s slave, Kuṭb-ud-Dín, Y-bak, was sent to take possession of Dihlí and exercise the rule over that territory; and Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yár [see “*Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*,” page 548, and Appendix C. xiii.], with a large force of Ḳhalj [Turks], was sent to the farthest part of Hind, in such wise that they penetrated into the borders of the territory of Chín [China], and captured some places which no Musalmáns had hitherto reached.” Here we have the events of some twenty-nine years in as many lines, and not a word about Rá’í Pithorá. Such is the account contained in Ibn Aṣír, the Shámí historian; but this Malikah or female ruler is quite new, and was unknown to the native writers.



“Bhádará is an ancient place, and still a large *kaṣbah*, under the sway of the Rájah of Bikánír. The river passes close under its walls on the north and east; and in rainy seasons, when it overflows its banks, which hereabouts varies in breadth from half a *kuroh* to two *kuroh* or more, it causes great damage, so much so, that, respecting it, there are two very old sayings, the first in particular, which is Hindí, is:—

جب ٹپ چتنگ بہادرآ بناس

‘When the Chitang begins to leap [come down with violence], it brings destruction to Bhádará.’

The other, in Persian, is as follows:—

همواره چتنگ موجب ویرانگی بہادرآ است

‘At all times the Chitang is the cause of Bhádará’s desolation.’

“About another *kuroh* or little more south-west of Bhádará the Chitang again resumes a westerly course, and passes close under No-har on the south, six *kuroh* farther west of which it turns to the west-north-west, winding considerably in several places. Then passing close by the walls of the large village of Gandehlí [گندھیہلی]<sup>452</sup> on the south side, it makes a sharp bend to the north, and flows on to Raot-sar, distant about four *kuroh*, and situated on its southern or left bank. It then bends to the south-west for about three *kuroh*, and, after that, suddenly turns to the north-west, where another channel, on the south or left hand, appears to have separated from it, with an interval of about three *kuroh* and a half between them. This re-unites with the main channel a little over seven *kuroh* farther north-west, and runs towards the west once more for nearly six *kuroh*, when the junction of the Hakrá or Wahindah with the channel of the Ghag-ghar takes place; and here the bed is of considerable breadth. Many small villages are situated near the banks of the Chitang all the way along, and the sites of many more are scattered about every here and there.

“Continuing to run in a south-westerly course, and winding considerably as before, it passes immediately north of Súdar-har [سوڈرہر] or Şúrat Gaṛh, where it runs west again for a little over six *kuroh*, to Ulwá-nah, one *kuroh* south of which it bends towards the south-west again, passes north of Suhán Koṭ,<sup>453</sup> in ancient times a fortress of great size, but now completely gone to ruin, distant seven *kuroh* and a half from Súdar-har or Şúrat Gaṛh, and near the southern bank. From Suhán Koṭ it runs by Jal-Mathúrá,<sup>454</sup> the name of a great and lofty *khák-rez*

<sup>452</sup> “Gandeelee” of the maps.

<sup>453</sup> Incorrectly called “Sehwan Kot” in the maps.

<sup>454</sup> “Matoola” of the maps, and, of course, incorrect.

or mound, visible from a distance of three or four *kuroh*, distant from the first named place a little over seven *kuroh*, and situated on the northern bank.<sup>455</sup> From thence running by Joeyr-i-Balúchán, so called from a *joeyr* or lake dependent on rain in its bed, at the distance of another seven *kuroh*, the Manggú-Wálah *joeyr* or lake in the river bed, also dependent on rain, is reached, and three *kuroh* more to Chúhar-har, a large village of Musalmáns, with a fort built of unburnt bricks, a lake, and several wells. North-west of it, distant rather less than two *kuroh*, is Dúbh-lí, distant six *kuroh* south-south-west from Bhatnír. This is a large village, and in the seasons of inundation the Ghag-ghar reaches it [at the present time, Dhub-lí is two miles and a half from the channel of the river]. Chúhar-har is situated in the Chitr-áng Zamín, and being on the border of the Bikánír and Baháwal-púr states, it sometimes pays allegiance to the Rájah of the former, and sometimes to Baháwal Khán. The bed of the Chitang from thence runs for another seven *kuroh* to Walh-har (ولہر)<sup>456</sup> in the Baháwal-púr territory, which is a fort constructed of kiln burnt bricks, situated close to its northern bank, and a place of some antiquity. Here its bed becomes very broad again.”

Before tracing the channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah farther, it is necessary to describe one important and peculiar feature of this great desert tract, extending from Bhatnír on the north, down into Sind on the south, and between Bikánír and Jasal-mír on the east, and the valley of the Mihrán of Sind on the west. One of the main feeders of the Hakrá was the Chitang river, already described; and the hard ground which everywhere crops up in this great desert tract, and rings under the hoofs of a horse passing over it, is called Chitr-áng (چترانگ),

<sup>455</sup> It is now on its south bank, or south side of its channel.

<sup>456</sup> Now also known as Sar-dár Garh. The writer on the “Lost River” in the “Calcutta Review” refers to this place, apparently, under the name of “Bullur,” and says that “near here is the junction of the eastern and western arms of the Sotra or Hakrá.” The Ná’í Wál is merely the name of one of the ancient channels of the Sutlaj, which, like the Chitang, Ghag-ghar, and others, was a tributary of the Hakrá. As I understand the words Ná’í Wál, they merely signify *the new or recent channel or stream*, referring to the change in the course of the Sutlaj.

Tod says, that “Seogurh” was the former name of Bullur, which was “one of the most ancient cities of the desert [!],” and “like Phoolra, is a Johya possession.”

In this name ‘b’ and ‘w,’ as in others, are interchangeable, and it *might* be called and written Balh-har, but not “Bullur.” The usual mode of pronouncing the name is as above. When this and other places here mentioned were in the height of their prosperity, the country was not “a desert;” for a city in a desert would not be inhabited.



but which some recent writers confound with the name of the river Chitang (چنگ), between which two words there is no affinity whatever.

Under the head of Jasal-mír, the author of the Survey says: This Zamín-i-Chitr-áng is a waterless waste or wilderness wherein the *mirage* prevails, extending from Bhaṭnír down into Jasal-mír for a distance of some two hundred *kuroh* in length, with a breadth of about twenty-five *kuroh*, and which crops up in other directions on both sides of which are vast deserts of sand. Here, as before stated, the *mirage* prevails; and great lakes and trees appear to view, only to vanish when one approaches them. By digging in this Chitr-áng, water is obtainable, but it lies very deep, and, after all, is brackish. But few wells are sunk in these parts on account of the excess of sand, which appears like unto a vast sea. Snakes and scorpions abound; and the only trees are the *pílú* [*Salvador Persica*], and the *sánjí* [red jujube or *ber*]. The *pílú* grows to a large size; and the other, which in Hindústán they call *bútah-i-sánjí*, attains to about the height of a man.”

In another place he says: “The surface of the ground of this tract is, for the most part, bare and even [and its surface is clear of any growth], and such ground or land they style in this locality ‘Zamín-i-Chitr-áng.’ In former times, according to all the traditions of these parts, a great river used to flow out of the Siwálik mountains, and running through these parts used to unite with the Sind daryá,<sup>457</sup> and which was known as the Chitang, and, lower down, as the Hakrá; and, from the time this river became obstructed, this tract of country ceased to be cultivated and to be inhabited.”

“This vast tract has been called Chitr-áng on account of its hardness, and the flatness of its surface. It is also stated that part of it is the old channel of the Ghag-ghar, which runs through Sahrind, and which used to unite with the Hakrá. In short, at the present time, the first-mentioned river does not flow much beyond Bhaṭnír, Moj Garh, Márút, Phúlrá, Chúhrhú or Chúhr-hú, Súdar-har, etc., are places situated in this Chitr-áng. The inhabitants of this part do not dwell in masonry houses, but in huts or shanties; and their wealth consists of a great number of cattle of different kinds.”

I have said that this Chitr-áng Zamín crops up every here and there, but it seems to prevail chiefly where the channels of these dried up rivers occur, and in parts over which their waters appear to have flowed or to have spread.<sup>453</sup> \* For example: “In going from Bikánír

<sup>457</sup> The Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind. See the extracts from the old 'Arab travellers, at pages 211 to 218

<sup>453</sup> \* Tod notices this Chitr-áng Zamín, but, under a wrong name, and under the supposition that it was temporary, instead of which it is permanent. He says:

to Bhatnír by Mohan Garh, this Chitr-áng commences about eleven miles<sup>454\*</sup> south of Súdar-har, also styled Śúrat Garh in the present day, and terminates some miles to the north-wards of that mud-built fort. The channel of the Hakrá intervenes in this space. In proceeding from the Goṭ<sup>455\*</sup> of Ká'im Khán, Ra'is between Khair-púr and Mubárah-púr, in the direction of Bikánír, you first go to Márúṭ. For the first ten *kuroh* on this route you proceed through sandy desert, but after that the Chitr-áng commences, and extends all the way to Márúṭ, crossing by the way the old channels of the Sutlaj and Hakrá, a short distance from the south or left bank of which last named river bed Márúṭ stands, and beyond which for some distance farther the Chitr-áng extends.

“In going from Bikánír to Ajúḍḍhan, fifty *kuroh* north is Chúhar-har, and from thence thirty-five *kuroh* farther is Admíri, also called Ajmíri, after a Musalmán Jaṭ tribe; and for forty *kuroh* the route lies

“Chittram—considerable tracts of low, hard, flat, formed by the lodgment of water after rains.” In a foot-note he says: “the name is literally ‘The picture’ from the circumstance of such spots almost constantly presenting the *mirage*, here termed *chitrám*,” Vol. II, 329.

In Hindí, chítá is a picture or painting, from Sanskrit चित्र ‘to paint,’ ‘draw,’ but the derivation of Chitr-áng might more probably be from the Hindí chetak—‘deception,’ ‘miracle,’ etc. See also page 361, where it also crops up.

<sup>454\*</sup> About six and a half *kuroh*.

<sup>455\*</sup> Goṭ, in the language of Sind, Multán, and Jasal-mír, signifies literally, a station or halting place, but is now applied to a village; and in our maps, such is the confusion of tongues because a uniform, and *correct* system is not adopted, and an “official” system devised instead by some one who knew nothing of the matter, and was probably ignorant of the vernacular, that this word appears as “GOAT Kaimrais”—“GOTH Kaim Raees,” and “GOTE Kaim-rai,” in as many different maps.

In the same manner respecting the rather common name of Ghaus-púr (from the 'Arabic word *ghaus* applied to a class of Muḥammadan saints), two places of which name lie only a few miles from each other south-west of Baháwal-púr. Actually, the names are written “*Ghospoor*,” “*Khospur*,” “*Gaospoor*,” “*Ghouspoor*” and “*Ghuspoor*” in as many different maps; and yet it is treason almost to venture to point such absurd blunders out lest the “susceptibilities” of those who make them “should be hurted.” It is just the same with other names; for example, the new station in Southern Afghánistán called by the Pus'hto name of Tal, which is a verdant tract and well cultivated, and another west of Kohát of the same name, where water never fails and cultivation is abundant, but the map makers and Gazetteer compilers will make it “*Thal*,” the Hindí name for a sandy, water-less desert, used in the Panj-áb and Sind, and by the Balúchís dwelling on their borders, because the compilers in question *thought* the words were all one; and so Thal—a sandy, waterless desert—has become the “official” names of these two green and verdant Afghán towns, while the Government is studiously kept in ignorance of such blunders.



over this Chitr-áng, and the last five *kuroh* is over the sandy desert, the old channels of the Hakrá and Ná'e Wálí or Ná'e Wál intervening.

“In going from No-har,<sup>456</sup> \* between Bhaṭnír and Bhádaṛá, on the way to Bikánír, this Chitr-áng Zamín commences near to No-har, which is situated on the north bank of the Chitang, and extends a considerable distance farther south. In another direction, in going from Jasal-mír towards Bikánír, this Chitr-áng extends all the way to Bikam-púr, the road leading across the channels of the two old feeders of the Hakrá, which take their rise near Poh-kuru, east of Jasal-mír, and noticed at page 451.

“Then again, fifteen *kuroh* west-north-west from Walh-har, on the west bank of the Hakrá, eastwards [about fifty-eight miles] of Moj Gaṛh, is a place called Faríd-sar, where, as the last part of the name indicates,<sup>457</sup> \* is “a large lake of brackish water; and on going from thence five *kuroh* in the same direction, the Chitr-áng Zamín terminates, and the *Registán* or sandy desert again commences. Hereabouts the *sar-áb* or *mirage* greatly prevails; and many are the *káflahs*, that, thinking they were going towards water, have perished in following after it. This Chitr-áng Zamín, as before stated, is bare and even, over which the phantasms or shadows of *jal-gáhs* [grassy plains] hover to deceive. Three *kuroh* north-north-east from this place (Faríd-sar) is Mubárák-púr.” This Chitr-áng also occurs in other places near the last independent channel of the Sutlaj.

“By another route by Máhi-Wálah Bungá, and Faríd-sar above-mentioned, and ten *kuroh* north from the last named place, is Táj-i-Sarwar, commonly called Táj Sarwar; and on the way to the first named place the Chitr-áng Zamín commences near the deserted channel of the Sutlaj, and Mubárák-púr lies away distant on the left hand.

“In going from Bikánír to Baháwal-púr by Púgal, a mud-built fort under the Rájah of Birsil-púr, towards Moj Gaṛh in the territory of Baháwal-púr, the Chitr-áng Zamín commences about half way [near the present frontiers of Bikánír and Baháwal-púr], and the sandy desert ceases. Between Moj Gaṛh and Baháwal-púr again, the road lies over the Chitr-áng, but, in some places the sandy desert intervenes.” This route, it must be noted, crosses the old channel of the Hakrá, and the ancient channel of the Sutlaj between Moj Gaṛh and Baháwal-púr.

<sup>456</sup> \* There is another place of this name, it must be remembered. Names ending in ‘har’ I believe to refer to towns or places where there were ferries or crossing places. See note 465, page 429.

<sup>457</sup> \* Tod writes this word “Sirr,” but Sar (Sans. सरः) is correct. He says: “Sirs are temporary salt lakes or marshes formed by the collection of waters from the sand hills, and which are easily dammed up to prevent escape.” Vol. II p. 280.

The Chitr-áng again occurs at Diláwar or Diráwar to the southwards of Uchchh-i-Sharíf, near the north or right bank of the present channel of the Hakrá, and extends south-eastwards by Ghaus Garh (now, also called Rukn-púr), in the old bed of the Hakrá, towards Birsil-púr, beyond the frontier of Baháwal-púr, in the Bikánír state. Nearly the whole distance between Diláwar to within a few miles of Birsil-púr, a distance altogether of about fifty-six miles, is perfectly seamed with channels, plainly indicating that the Hakrá at different periods has flowed over nearly every part of it. It is clear, that at one epoch, the river took a more southerly course by Márút, Moj Garh,<sup>458</sup> Diráwal, Chaní-sar or Tibbah Chaní-sar,<sup>459</sup> Ghaus Garh, Khán Garh, Wanjh-rút (the “Beejnot” of the maps), and No-har or Islám Garh, into the territory of Jasal-mír, and confirms the traditions prevalent respecting it. It then continued onwards towards Dhúndhár, and from thence towards Amar Kot in Sind. Subsequently, altering its course more to the westwards from near Márút, it ran towards Tríhára or Dín Garh, and from thence towards Diráwal and Khair Garh, as will presently be more fully noticed.

The Survey from which I have been quoting, does not, I regret to say, trace the old bed of the Hakrá farther than Walh-har, not

<sup>458</sup> Boileau, quoted farther on, also notices this Chitr-áng Zamín in his “Personal Narrative,” but does not mention it by name. In going from Baháwal-púr towards Ghaus Garh, he says: “Leave Baháwal-púr and proceed eight *kos* E. S.E. over a bad road to the little village of Poharwala. Hard ground for the first *kos* and half. Two *kos* low sand hills: last four over hard ground interspersed with light sand drifts and bushes. Then sixteen *kos* S.E. to Mojgur: tolerably hard path: the fort on firm ground, with low, sandy eminences around, but at a considerable distance; built of brick with very lofty walls about fifty feet high with a seven foot parapet: mosque with a high dome on the east side: the body of the place about one hundred and ten yards or half a furlong square with bastions: well supplied with water.”

“Left Mojgur, and not going to Poogul as Elphinstone did, march twelve *kos* S. by W. to Troohawalee over a tolerably hard path.” He then went to “Rukhan-poor or Ghausghar, fourteen *kos*, the path over sandy ground, with occasional hard plains called *duhar*.” He then went on to Birsil-púr in Jasal-mír.

Elphinstone, who crossed from Bikánír to Baháwal-púr, says:—“From Poogal for the first ten or twelve miles sand, but after we reached the *hard clay*. \* \* \* Poogal to Bahawalpur flat, hard clay, which sounded under our horses’ feet like a board, and occasionally some small hills of sand formed by the sand blowing over the clay \* \* \* the clay is destitute of vegetation.”

<sup>459</sup> This is a very ancient site, and is mentioned in the Chach Námah. Jai Senha son of Rá’e Dáhir, retired to this place, on the advance of the ‘Arab forces against Bahman-ábád. It lies about twenty-eight miles south-east of Diráwal, and about twenty miles west-north-west from Ghaus Garh or Rukn-púr. See note 189, page 240, para. 5.



having been carried farther towards the frontier of Sind, although it gives several routes which crosses it by various places still on, or once on its banks.

Continuing to run in much the same direction as before, and winding considerably, the bed of the Hakrá, at present, passes by Phúlrá, a *kaşbah* and masonry fort, with lofty walls, and surrounded by a ditch. It was formerly of considerable importance,<sup>460</sup> but now much decayed, once situated on its bank, but, at this day, about a mile and a quarter distant from it on the south. In the bed, about three miles to the north-wards of Phúlrá, are the ruins of an old place called Tehrí. After making a short bend to the north-west, from the tomb of Imám Sháh, now *in* its present bed, it again bends towards the south-west, and runs towards Márúť, distant from the south bank a mile and a half. Here the bed is from four to five miles in breadth. Márúť, it will be remembered, is mentioned by Mangútah, the Mughal leader, in the account of the investment of U'chchh; and up to this day, after heavy rains, water still runs in the Hakrá bed to within three or four miles of Márúť, which, at the time the Survey was made from which I have given these extracts, was a small town with a fort constructed of burnt bricks, standing on a *khák-rez* or artificial mound about feet in height. The drifting sands since that time have encroached so much towards the west as to reach near to the top of the walls; and the town, which then carried on a considerable trade in grain, has now gone to decay, and there is no cultivation.<sup>461</sup> A number of routes branch off from this place in every direction, and also the most ancient channel that we know of, more towards the south.

After passing Márúť—a little east of which, one of the ancient channels of the Sutlaj can be distinctly traced,<sup>462</sup> and which river bed, appearing in our maps as the “Nyewal,” and “Western Naiwal,”

<sup>460</sup> Masson, who passed it in 1826, says, that, “Púlarah,” as he calls it, “has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water in which is an island studded with trees.” This expanse of water was, of course, in the channel of the Hakrá.

<sup>461</sup> That is to say, forty years since, about the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb.

<sup>462</sup> At least it could be distinctly traced in 1849-50, at which time, in going from Márúť to Baháwal-púr, you reached it about seven miles from the first named place, and there the channel was more than a mile and a half broad. It was subsequent to this being the point of junction, that the Sutlaj again moved farther westwards, between this old channel and the present Ghárah, which channel is referred to at page 400, which passes east of Bág-sar, Mubárah-púr, Khair-púr, Baháwal-púr, down as far as Noh-shahrah, below which it united with the Hakrá, as already mentioned at the page referred to.

formerly united with the Hakrá a few miles lower down—the bed of the Hakrá continues to run in much the same direction as before for just eight miles, when it bends to the south, and afterwards to the west, to Mol Garh, or Moj Garh as it is also called, a masonry fort, situated close to the southern bank; and immediately east of it, the bed is some four miles in breadth. Continuing in about the same direction as before, towards the west-south-west, the channel contracts again, and passes the fort of Dín Garh or Tríhárah, situated rather more than a mile from the south bank. Here the channel widens again, and near the ruins of an old fort called Bárah, close to the northern bank, and for many miles away to the southward, the action of water is plainly visible over the face of the whole country. Soon after passing Dín Garh the channel becomes still broader, takes a south-westerly course, passes the ruins of the Bárah fort above referred to, and reaches Diráwar or Diláwar, which is close to the southern bank. This place, also called Diráwat,<sup>463</sup> a vitiated form of the first name, is a fortress of great strength from its situation, where the Nawwábs of Baháwal-púr used to keep their treasures, as it was considered impregnable, but it was captured by Tímúr Sháh, the Sadozí Durrání Bádsháh, in the last century, as Mírzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, had taken it from the Langáh Jaṭs of Multán in 1525 A. D.

Here between Dín Garh or Tríhárah, and Diráwar or Diláwar, a vast change takes place in the Hakrá bed. The channel becomes indistinct, because the whole country round, from actual survey, is filled with innumerable long banks and channels, some of the former being from two to four miles in length, and one, and sometimes more in breadth. They chiefly run parallel to the hitherto distinctly defined channel, namely, south-west, down as far as Baghlá and Şáhib Garh, towards the frontier of Upper Sind, a distance of one hundred and eight miles, after which, the channel becomes distinct again. Some of these banks and channels, but not running in such long, unbroken lengths, run to the south in the direction of the ancient channel referred to under, and stretch away beyond Tibbah Chaní-sar, Ghaus Garh or Rukn-púr,

<sup>463</sup> This place, together with several others lying along the course of the Hakrá, which separated the territories of Sind and Multán from Bikánír and Jasalmír, still belonged to the Bhaṭí tribe in the middle of the last century. Tod says, “Derawal” was the capital of the Bhaṭís—of this part, probably—and taken from them by Mubárah Khán, the Dá’úd-pútrah. He then adds that it was “the chief town of Khádál” belonging to the Bhaṭís.

The name is sometimes written Dhiráwal, but the above appears to be the most correct mode of writing it.



Khán Garh, Wanjh-rút,<sup>464</sup> and No-har or Islám Garh,<sup>465</sup> towards the boundary of Bikánír as shown in the map, No. 1, a distance of upwards of one hundred and ten miles to the southward of Dín Garh, where the action of water first begins to show itself.

From thence these channels—for the whole country round is seamed with them—run southwards towards Dhúndhár, through the western part of the Jasal-mír territory, some miles west of the town of that name, and immediately west of Dhúndhár, in the direction of Amar Kot in Sind, showing, unmistakeably, that at some remote period, and as asserted in all the traditions current in these parts, the Hakrá or Wahindah flowed through the Jasal-mír country (on the west side), into Sind.

The next to the oldest bed of the Sutlaj approaches nearer to the bed of the Hakrá north of Dín Garh than in any other part of its course above this point. At Moj Garh or Mol Garh,<sup>466</sup> it is twenty-five miles distant on the north, while at Dín Garh, only thirteen miles farther

<sup>464</sup> Called, formerly, Wanjh-rút of Multán, it being then included within the boundary of the Multán province and territory dependent on it. In 625 H. (1227 A. D.), the district or territory of Wanjh-rút was the fief of Malik Táj-ud-dín, Sanjar-i-Gajzlak Khán, a *mamlúk* or slave of Sultán I-yal-timish of Dihlí. Its site is described farther on. See also *Tabakát-i-Násirí* page 723.

Shahámat 'Alí states, that Mubárah Khán, the Dá'úd-pútrah chief, who succeeded his brother, Baháwal Khán, in 1163 H. (1750 A. D.), erected a fort on the site of a fortification constructed by an infidel named Ránjah which was demolished by Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ghúrí, and which was called Wanjh-rút. No such Sultán as 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ghúrí, ever passed the Indus, and no history says so: it is an error for Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Sám, the Ghúrí, who invaded Multán and U'chchh in 571 H. (1175 A. D.), but, as above shown, Wanjh-rút was the chief place of the district fifty-five years after that period. See also note 218 page 264.

<sup>465</sup> No-har or Islám Garh is also an ancient place. It was visited by Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers in 1835, referred to previously. He says: "Halted at Nohur or Islamgurh, an ancient possession of the Bhattee family [*Bhatí tribe?*]. The fort is a very ancient structure built of small bricks, the area about 80 yards square, with very lofty ramparts 30 to 50 feet high. It is disadvantageously situated in a deep basin half a mile or three quarters of a mile in diameter, surrounded by sand hills from 50 to 80 feet high."

Of course, when it was built, and for centuries after, these sand hills did not exist, nor would such a place have been of any use in a howling wilderness.

<sup>466</sup> Moj Garh is the stronghold whither the Dá'úd-pútrahs always sent their women in times of danger. This place, together with Márút, Trihárah, Phúlrá, and Rukn-púr, were taken from the Bikánír Rájah about one hundred and thirty years ago by the Dá'úd-pútrahs, who were new comers in those parts, together with Diráwal or Diráwar, Islám Garh, and Dín Garh, from the Rájah of Jasal-mír. Shahámat 'Alí says that Dín Garh was built by the first Baháwal Khán, which I think is an error; for, in some places he contradicts his own statements.

south-west, it is but fifteen miles distant; and the face of the country between indicates plainly the action of water towards Dín Garh and beyond. Farther south-west, this old channel of the Sutlaj approaches still nearer to that of the Hakrá, as will presently be shown.

Near the ruins of the fort of Khair Garh, thirty-six miles and a half below Diláwar or Diráwar, in the midst of the long, narrow banks and channels before referred to, the old bed of the Sutlaj, which is distant only nine miles farther west, becomes less distinctly defined, and banks and channels from it, extending for many miles, become mixed up with those of the Hakrá, until, near the forts of Baghlá and Şáhib Garh, twenty-four miles lower down than Khair Garh, their traces merge into one, showing very clearly that they once united hereabouts at the Dosh-i-Áb, or Waters' Meet, before noticed. Near Baghlá, the channel of the Hakrá again becomes clearly defined, and that fort, as well as Şáhib Garh, lies close to its right or western bank, the channel here being nearly two miles in breadth. Six miles lower down, the channel bends a little more towards the south, and afterwards resumes its general course of south-west; and under the name of "Rainee Nullah"<sup>467</sup> in our various maps, but known to the natives as the Wahind, Wahindah, or Hakrá, and being from four to five miles from bank to bank, it Kandhára (the Kandháro of the Sindís), Líarah, and Khán Garh, all three forts being on its eastern or left bank, into Upper Sind. Here I will, for the present, leave it, and turn back towards the old beds of other rivers, which in by-gone times were its tributaries, and which, even now, during the rainy season, contribute some water to it.

#### THE SURSUTÍ, THE ANCIENT SARASWATÍ.

Next in rotation to the Chitang on the west is the Sursutí,<sup>463</sup> the ancient Saraswatí, which, like the first named river, rises in the

<sup>467</sup> Styled "Nullah," perhaps, because, in some places, the channel or river bed is some four or five miles broad; and never less, I believe, up to this point at least, than a mile broad.

<sup>463</sup> The "Soorsuttee Nud" of the maps. The tract of country lying on either side of the banks of the Sursutí or Saraswatí, extending from Thání-sar to Se-wan, six miles N. N. W. of Kaithal, and embracing a circuit of about sixty *kuroh*, is the most sacred part of Hind from the Hindú point of view, and was known as Bramhákarta, or the abode of the gods. Herein, likewise, the Pándús and the Kúrús met in battle, hence it is known as Kur-Khet or Kúr-Khet, and Kúr-Chhatr. Abú-I-Fazl says that this battle, the subject of the Mahá-Bharata, took place just 4831 years before the last year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, which would be just 6721 years ago, or only 827 years before the world was created according to the chronology of our Bible, a mere trifle in Hindú chronology. This sacred part of the Hindús contains upwards of three hundred and sixty places of worship or devotion, and the most sacred of them all are Thání-sar and Pehú'á.



Siwálik range, and arises from the overflow of waters in the hills between Náhún<sup>469</sup> and Saḡhúra. From ancient times, a peculiarity of this river is, that a few miles from its source, it disappears for a time from the surface in its sandy bed, and again appears. This it does two or three times in the present day, and, during this temporary disappearance, is supposed to unite with the Chitang, until after re-appearing at last at Baḡah Kherah, it flows on uninterruptedly. Its course, lower down, has undergone vast changes during the lapse of centuries,<sup>470</sup> and in modern times was also known as the Súkhh Sutí (سوكهه ستي). In the last century when the Survey I have been quoting was made, it passed half a *kuroh* north and west of Muṣṭafá-ábád, two *kuroh* east of Babain,<sup>471</sup> north of Thání-sar, and south of Pehú'á;<sup>472</sup> for in going from thence to Kaithal by Gumthailá, you crossed the Sursutí from Pehú'á over a masonry bridge. It then took a course more directly towards the south-west than it does at present; and its old bed can be distinctly traced from Pehú'á to Furis Májrá,<sup>473</sup> and within four *kuroh* of Tihwánah,<sup>474</sup> down to Ban-

Lassen says, "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra *south* [sic] of the Sarasvatí and *north* of the Dṛishadvatí [which is entirely out of the sacred part], dwell in heaven." The doctors disagree, however, here. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (II, 338), says, that the Hindús attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, the Sarasvatí is the *western* boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahminical laws."

Here he is somewhat mistaken, because the "Dṛishadvatí" flows *West* of the Sarasvatí," and the sacred tract lay between the two rivers. This statement of Muir here, even by his own account at page 397, is wrong. There he says: "It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmávertta *between the Sarasvatí and the Dṛishadvatí*, alluded to in the classical passage in Manu II, 17-24, must have been for a considerable time the seat of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages."

According to the Hindú legends, the Sarasvatí was the one only river which flowed on pure from the mountains to the sea, in which case it could not have joined the Chitang or the Ghag-ghar, nor have been a tributary to the Hakrá, which it was, or at least, along with the Chitang formed it. Some, however, consider the passage to be entirely allegorical, and that the Sarasvatí being the goddess of sacrifice, with her libations, the *samudra* (the sea) is merely typical of the vesse destined to receive the libations.

According to the same writer (p. 399), (quoting Manu II, 17-24), "The tract fashioned by the gods which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Dṛishadvati, is called Brahmávertta."

<sup>469</sup> The "Shahr-i-Sirmor" of history.

<sup>470</sup> See note 451, page 418, respecting A'zim-ábád-i-Taláwarí.

<sup>471</sup> "Babyn" of the maps.

<sup>472</sup> "Pihooa," and "Pehowah," of the maps and Gazetteers.

<sup>473</sup> "Farrus Majra" and "Faras" of different maps.

<sup>474</sup> "Tohanuh" in the maps.

húrah,<sup>476</sup> a little more than eight *kuroh* south-south-west of Tihwánah. It passed Banhúrah a *kuroh* and a half on the east, where the channel becomes indistinct, but north of Chhíni, on the north bank of the present channel of the Chitang. About twenty-eight miles in the same direction from Banhúrah, where it becomes indistinct, it can be again plainly traced until its junction with the Chitang a short distance west of Bhádará, where the united streams formed and received the name of Hakrá. The Ghag-ghar was never called Sursutí, and only those unaware of these facts could have imagined that it was so.<sup>477</sup> These rivers, the Chitang and the Sursutí had no connection in former times with the Ghag-ghar, until they united with it upwards of twenty miles south-west of Bhatnír.

At the close of the last century, when this Survey was made, when the Sursutí became flooded, the cultivators of Kaithal, which belonged to the Mandar Afgháns (a colony of that division of the Khas'hís settled here from the time of the Afghán rulers), used to cut the *band* or dyke of the river at Pehú'á, and bring water to their lands round about Kaithal. "A little to the north-west of Harnolah, on the route from Kaithal by Agúnd to Samánah," the Survey says, "the great river Sursutí is crossed, which, on ordinary occasions, contains but little water, and shortly afterwards two other branches of it have to be passed." Now there is but one channel; but two large lakes, about two miles or more farther west, indicate where these branches formerly flowed.

Another old channel of the Sursutí can be traced between that just described and the present main channel, which runs within just two miles and a quarter of Tihwánah, and is lost again eleven miles and a half south of the last named place. It branches off three miles and a

<sup>475</sup> "Buhoonah" of the maps.

<sup>476</sup> Cunningham, in the maps to his "Ancient India," numbers V and VI, indicates correctly the course of the Hakrá or Wahindah, but, in the first map calls it the "*Nudras Fl.*," and in the second, the "*Sotra or Chitrang R.*;" and he does not indicate the Ná'í Wálí branches — the old Sutlaj beds — merely the Chitang, which he, like some others, incorrectly calls "*Chitráng*" (which refers to a part of the great desert already explained), and the Háriári or Ghárah under the usual incorrect name of "*Satlej*." The names "Sotra," "Sodrah," and "Sothaur," as the name is written in different maps, and by different English writers, is applied by them to the Ghag-ghar not to the Chitang at all. See page 439, and note 489, and note 423, page 403, para. 2.

In a recent "Settlement Report of the Hissar District," we are told, that, in the days of "Shams Shiraz the Ghaggar was called the Saraswati." It may have been so at "Shiráz," but it was never so called in Hind, because they are totally different rivers. See note 218, page 264.



half east of the present (or late) point of junction with the Ghag-ghar mentioned in the next paragraph.

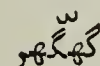
At the present time, the Sursutí unites with the Ghag-ghar near Rasúlah, twenty miles north-east of Tihwánah, and fourteen miles and a half west-north-west of Kaithal, or eight miles or so west of the course it formerly took to unite with the Ghag-ghar.

Another change in the courses of the rivers of these parts is indicated by that of the Márkandah, which formerly, after reaching Thaská from the direction of Sháh-ábád, ran west to Kuhram, and, after passing one *kuroh* south of it, united with the Ghag-ghar. At the present time it turns off before reaching Thaská, runs to the south, and unites with the Sursutí about two *kuroh* or three miles and a half east of Pehú'á.

#### THE GHAG-GHAR, THE ANCIENT DRISHADWATÍ.

I now come to the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries. The course of the Ghag-ghar<sup>477\*</sup> river has probably changed oftener than that of any other of these parts; and its shiftings, no doubt, had a deal to do with the drying up of the Hakrá. The author of the Survey says, "the Ghag-ghar is now a rain-formed river [that is, dependent on rain], and very famous in the parts through which it flows. Its exact source has not been determined, but it comes from Kahlúr; and it is related, that, having flowed past Bhatnir, in by-gone times, it used

<sup>477\*</sup> This river is styled "*Cuggur*" by Dow and Briggs, although there is no such letter as *c* in the Persian, in which Firishtah's history is written, nor is there in Sanskrit or Hindí. Elphinstone, who quotes Briggs, makes the matter still worse by writing it, in his "History of India," "*Cágar*;" and Rennell writes it "*Cagga*."

The word in the original form is , the second 'g' being doubled.

In the "Memoirs of George Thomas" it is stated (p. 164) with respect to the course of the "*Cuggur*," as the author of the "Memoirs" styles the Ghag-ghar, that, "during Mr. Thomas's residence at *Batnir*, he could perceive little vestige of what is called the *antient bed* of this river, but from the scanty information he procured, it appeared to him that the river, *tho' it formerly ran along the south side of the fort*, its channel had been choaked up by vast quantities of earth forced down from the mountains, and according to the prevailing opinion of the natives, *tho' now lost in the sands, west of the city*, it formerly extended as far as the *Sutlege* which it joined in the vicinity of *Ferozpore*."

The author of the "Memoirs" appears to have reversed Thomas's meaning, since in the map to the "Memoirs," the *Sutlaj* is made to run southwards from near *Fírúz-púr* into the *Hakrá*, which it once did, but from a point a long way to the east of *Fírúz-púr*.

In another place it is stated, that the country of the *Bhatís* "extends along the banks of the *Cuggur* from the town of *Futtahbad* to that of *Batnir*. The soil is uncommonly productive, which arises in a great measure from *the immense body*

to unite with the Sind on the frontiers of Jasal-mír,<sup>478</sup> but, for a long period it has become obstructed and blocked up." The writer here, of course, refers to the Ghag-ghar and Hakrá united, and when the Ghag-ghar was not entirely dependent on rain.<sup>479</sup> This river arises from the overflow of water in the rainy season from the Siwálik range near Pinjor, on the north and west of the tract wherein the Chitang and Sursutí take their rise. It then ran towards the south, passed east of Múní Májrá and west of Rám Garh, then turned south-west, and reached the *kaṣbah* or bázár town of Banhúr,<sup>480</sup> below the walls of which it flowed. So far, the changes in its course do not seem to have been very great; but, about four or five miles above Banhúr, another rain-fed river, the Unbhalá (اونبھال), now branches off to the south-west towards Anbálah, which river will be presently noticed.

From Banhúr the Ghag-ghar ran more to the south-south-west, and passed about two miles, or a little over, west of Mughal Sará'e; and crossed the present line of railway near a place which still preserves its name, namely Ghag-ghar Sará'e,<sup>481</sup> about eight miles and a half to the north-westwards of Anbálah.

Now it passes less than two miles west of that place.

From Ghag-ghar Sará'e it ran away in a direction about south-west passing near Chappar and Fath-púr on the east, and midway between the latter place and Bhunareṛí, winding considerably in some places; then turning a little more westerly, it ran on towards Samánah, and washed some of the buildings of that place on the east side. The Survey account says, in proof of this, that, "in going from Banhúr to Paṭiálah by way of Rám-púr, Madan-púr, Ujráwar, and Kherí,<sup>482</sup> the

*of water* descending from the mountains during the rainy season, thus causing the banks of the river to overflow to an extent of several miles "

At page 7 of the article on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review," the writer says, that, "the old river bed *now* [sic] known as the Gaggar, in which flows the stream of that name, according to tradition, was originally the bed of the Satlej." The tradition so called must have been misunderstood: the so called "Eastern Nyewal" must have been meant; and the "old river bed *now* known as the Gaggar," that is the Ghag-ghar, is as old as the hills.

<sup>478</sup> See page 450.

<sup>479</sup> See note 485, page 438.

<sup>480</sup> "Boonoor" of the maps. See following note 485, page 438.

<sup>481</sup> The merchants, Steel and Crowther, quoted in note 357, page 354, who passed the Ghag-ghar two hundred and seventy-five years ago — in 1614–15 A. D.—mention it as follows: "Mogall Será or Gangar, on the route from Shahabad to Sunam."

<sup>482</sup> This word continually occurs in the names of places in these parts, generally in conjunction with another word, sometimes following, sometimes preceding. It means a village, from Sanskrit खेट. Another form of the word is Kherá. In



Ghag-ghar had to be crossed in two places by the way. In this neighbourhood, and farther north, it used, in former times, to cause great destruction from overflowing its banks, but now, save and except a contemptible channel, nothing else remains.

“At that period, likewise, the route between Anbálah and Samánah, three *kuroh* distant from Kuhram, used to become so flooded from the overflow of the Ghag-ghar, that it became entirely closed.”

The distance between Kuhram and Samánah is seventeen miles, and there were then as now, many villages between. Now, the Ghag-ghar flows four or five miles farther eastward, and after passing within four miles or more of Kuhram, flows towards the south-west, and unites with a river which appears in our maps as the “Konsilla N.” or “Puttealuh river,” but, at the period in question, it was not known.

In going from Pañíalah to Kuhram by Fath-púr, Sunnúr, and Bhunareí, the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed between Fath-púr and Bhunareí; but, now, it flows more than two miles and a half on the other or south side of the last-named place.

Proceeding from Agúnd to Samánah<sup>483</sup> by way of Ujhh and Sehún

our maps it is sometimes “Kheruh,” sometimes “Khera,” and “Kheree;” and, in some places, all three variations of the word, after this fashion, will be found written almost adjoining each other. See note 230, page 269, and note 455,\* page 424.

<sup>483</sup> I may mention that Hánsí, Samánah, Sunám, Kuhram, and Sarastí, or Sirsá of the present time, particularly Hánsí and its dependencies, were some of the most important fiefs of the Dhilí kingdom, as may be gathered from the “*Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí.*” This fact also shows that they must have been far more flourishing at that period than they were in the time of Akbar Badsháh. In former times there was no scarcity of water, and then these parts were in very prosperous condition, and contained a far greater number of inhabitants, as the numerous ruined sites confirm.

Ibn Baṭúṭah says Sarastí, when he went thither from Uboh-har, was a large city, and abounded with rice, which the people carried to Dihlí for sale. Hánsí, his next stage, he says, was a fine, well, and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. Then he went on to Mas’úd-ábád.

In the time of the last Shamsíáh Sultán of Dihlí, Hánsí was held by the Ulugh Khán-i-A’zam, afterwards Sultán Ghiyás-nd-Dín, Balban. It was a very ancient and strong place, and was captured in 427 H. (1035-36 A.D.), by Sultán Mas’úd, the Martyr. This was one hundred years or more before the time of “Rae Pithaura” who, we are told, “is supposed to have founded it.”

In the last century it was totally depopulated and ruined. On the north side of the city and adjoining it was a high *tall* or mound, and on its summit the remains of a strong fortress also in ruins. Within the fortress is the shrine of Shaikh Jamál, Hánsawí, who was one of the orthodox disciples, and the successor of that Sultán-uz-Záhidín, Shaikh Faríd, the saint of Ajúddhan, and on the saint’s day is visited by thousands of people. To the north of the fort there is a great lake some three or four *kuroh* in length, and nearly as broad. The cause of the desolation of this place

Májrá, two miles and a half north-east of Agúnd and Marorhí, two branches of the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed; but now, there is but one branch. Likewise, in going from Agúnd to Sunám westwards by Ujhh and Nanherá, a distance of four miles and a quarter, in the time of the Survey, the Ghag-ghar was crossed mid-way between these two places; but now, even the “Old Ghuggur Nud” of the maps is crossed less than a mile west of Ujhh, and the present channel is a little over a mile and half east of Nanherá.

is said to have been the great famine of the year 1179H. (1782-83 A.D.) It was the capital of George Thomas’s short lived principality.

“When this place went to decay, merchants and traders began to take up their quarters in the *ḡaryah* of Nangáli ( *ننگالی* ) (the “Mingalee,” “Mangalee,” and “Buleealee” of as many different maps), and made it thereby the envy of the other towns of this part. It is five *kuroh* to the south-east of Hánsí.”

Sulṭán Mas’úd had captured Sarastí, the modern Sirsá, in the year 425 H. (1033-34 A. D.); and in 427 H. (1035-36 A. D.), he moved against Hánsí, having, when very ill, vowed he would undertake a holy war against the infidels, if he recovered. Hánsí was a fortress of vast strength, and considered impregnable by the Hindús. In six days, however, one of the bastions was thrown down, leaving a practicable breach, and the Musalmán troops rushed in and captured it. This was in the beginning of the year 428 H. (it began 24th October, 1036 A.D.); and a great deal of booty fell into their hands.

After this Sulṭán Mas’úd moved against the fortress of Soní-paṭ (north of the city of Dihlí), which was the stronghold and residence of Deobál (Dewa-Pála, probably) of Hariánah. On the Sulṭán’s approach, Deobál retired to the *jangals* with his numerous forces, leaving the garrison to defend the place. It was captured, however, and sacked, and its idol-temples given to the flames. A spy having brought information of Deobál’s whereabouts, he was surprised by the Musalmán troops, defeated, and put to flight.

After this the Sulṭán left his son, Abú-l-Mujallá-i-Majdúd, governor of Láhor and his territories farther east.

Soon after Sulṭán, ’Abd-ul-Faṭḥ-i-Maudúd, had avenged the assassination of his father, Sulṭán Mas’úd, in 433H. (1041-42 A.D.), and he had himself been worsted by Sulṭán Alb-Arsalán, the Saljúḡ, in his endeavours to recover *Khurásán* from the Saljúḡs, the Musalmáns of the territory of Láhor and its dependencies,—who in Sulṭán Mas’úd’s reign, had crushed the rebellion of their then governor, Aḡmad-i-Níál-Tigín, who, as elsewhere related, was drowned in the Mihrán of Sind near Manṣúriyah, but had thrown off their allegiance to Sulṭán Maudúd—found themselves about to be attacked by three of the most powerful of the Rájahs of Hind, who had combined to recover Láhor and its territory from the Muḡammadans, who now marched to Láhor and invested it. The ringleaders in this act of disloyalty, now thought it advisable to renew their allegiance, which secured to Sulṭán Maudúd the services of all the Musalmán soldiery in that province; and two of the Rájahs, out of fear of Sulṭán Maudúd, determined to relinquish this enterprise against Láhor, and retired into their own territories again. But one more rash than the others, named Deobál of Hariánah, stayed behind for a



“At present,” says my Survey account, “the channel having passed by Chapar, Fath-púr, and between the latter place and Bhunareí, about a *kuroh* farther south-west, the tributaries of the Ghag-ghar [presently to be noticed], unite with it, after which it is also known as the Panch Nadí, and lower down towards Tihwánah<sup>484</sup> as the Gájí Wá-hah as well. From this place of junction, the Ghag-ghar or Panch Nadí

short time, thinking, that if the Musalmáns ventured out, he might be able to overthrow them. They considering themselves now strong enough, did so, encountered him, overthrew him with great slaughter, and put him to flight, killing great numbers in the pursuit. Deobál fled, and shut himself up in a strong fortress which he possessed, and in it he was invested by the victors. The name of the place is not mentioned, but is said to have been small, although very strong; and the Rájah had brought thither along with him such a number of followers, that famine began to stare them in the face. He had, therefore, to sue for terms, but the Musalmáns would agree to nothing short of his surrendering up all his fortified places to them, and he was obliged to comply. He obtained quarter; but the property and wealth contained in these strongholds, which was very great, fell into the hands of the people of Islám, and 5,000 persons of that faith, detained as captives by the Rájah, Deobál of Hariánah, who, in pomp and power exceeded all the other Maliks of Hind, were, incorporated with the Muḥammadan army.

This Rájah appears to be the same as the one referred to in Sultán Mas'úd's time, but the names are differently written, the first mentioned being plainly ديوبال Diobál, probably Dio-pál—and the other دوپال without points, which may be Do-bál, or Do-pál, or even Do-tál, or Do-yál. If one and the same Rájah is not referred to, the latter must be the son, or the successor of the former, but they probably refer to one and the same person.

After finishing this affair, the Musalmáns marched against the other Rájah, who was named Mát Mání. He sallied forth from his stronghold to encounter them; and although they did not amount to more than a tenth of the number he brought against them, they defeated and slew him, with the loss of some 5,000 men killed, and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands. The rest of the neighbouring Maliks of Hind, having become aware of this disaster, agreed to pay tax and tribute; and thus they saved themselves from the swords of the people of Islám. Sultán Maudúd died on the 20th Rajab, 441H. (about the end of January, 1050 A.D.), at which time his son, Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-Muḥammad, held the government of Láhor and its dependencies.

<sup>484</sup> Tihwánah, in Akbar Bádsháh's reign (written “Tohánah” in Blochmann's text) was a *maḥáll* of the *sarkár* of Ḥiṣár Fírúzah, and had a fort of kiln-burnt brick. Its revenue amounted to 4,694,354 *dáms*, with free grants amounting altogether to 150,680 *dáms*. The people were Afgháns of the Núḥánní or Lúhání tribe, who had to furnish 400 horsemen, and 3,000 foot for militia purposes. It is probable that some Afgháns have been located in these parts ever since the time of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-dín, Balban, who was the first of the great feudatories of the Dehlí kingdom who took Afgháns into pay. But this was not “in the sixth century A.D. in the time of Anang Pál Tunur Rája of Dehli,” as some tell us. It is said, in history, to have been founded by Rájah Tihwán Pál son of Abí Pál.

takes a more south-westerly course, and winding in several places by the way, reaches Samánah on the east side close to the walls of the place.<sup>435</sup> It then takes a course nearly south towards Nanherá and Bádsháh-púr; separates into three channels east of Nanherá, two of which pass between that place and Sehún Májrâ farther east [about two *kuroh* north of Agúnd], and the third east of Sehún Májrâ; after which they take a more south-westerly course again, and, subsequently, more towards the south-west, and reuniting, and bending and winding considerably, pass towards Múng Alá.”

Now, the Ghag-ghar is, at its nearest point, six miles or more from Samánah to the south-east. At the period in question the Ghag-ghar flowed within six miles and a half of Paṭiálah; now it is distant between eleven and twelve miles east and south-east of that city. At the same period, it passed eight miles west of Anbálah, while now it is but two.

At the time of this Survey likewise, after passing the Suwetí on the way from Bádsháh-púr, above referred to, on the road to Múng Alá, a little over twelve *kuroh* towards the south-west by way of Duhandál, Rá'e Dhiráná, and Dúdián, you cross the Ghag-ghar twice.”

Now, the Suwetí or Chhú-hey runs three miles east of Rá'e Dhiráná, and a mile and half east of Dúdián, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá; while an old channel of the river, called the “Old Ghuggur Nud” in the maps, is nine miles and a half east of Rá'e Dhiráná, and the present channel two miles and a half still farther east. The Sursutí now unites with the Ghag-ghar seventeen miles and a quarter to the north-eastwards of Múng Alá; but, when this Survey was made, it flowed some six or seven miles

<sup>435</sup> When Bábar Bádsháh invaded Hindústán, the Ghag-ghar flowed under the walls of Samánah, and from thence to Sunám. He says, in his Tuzúk, that, “Marching from Sarhind towards Anbálah, “we alighted on the banks of the river of Banúr [Banhúr—foreigners always drop the ‘h’ in Hindí words] and Sannúr. In Hindústán, apart from the *daryás* (great rivers) there is one running stream, and this they call the *Ab-i-Gaggar* (Ghag-ghar). Chhat (the “Chuth” of the maps), likewise, is situated on the bank of this river.” The Bádsháh set out, up stream, to view the country, and says, that, “three or four *kuroh* higher up than where this river issues forth, there is another stream, its tributary, which issues from a wide, open *darah*, which contains a volume sufficient to turn four or five water-mills.” It was such a pleasant spot that he gave directions to form a garden there on its banks. Then he says: “This stream having entered the plains and flowed for a distance of a *kuroh* or two, unites with the river Gaggar (Ghag-ghar), the point at which the latter issues [from the hills] being three or four *kuroh* lower down. In the rainy season, a great volume of water comes from this channel, and unites with the Gaggar (Ghag-ghar), which flows on to Samánah and Sunám.” Compare “Elliot’s Historians” (Vol. IV, page 249) here, containing the Editor’s version of “Tuzak-i-Bábarí.” It is a dangerous practice to leave out what is not understood,



farther east than its present place of junction with the Ghag-ghar, and its old bed can be distinctly traced. At the period in question it did not unite with the Ghag-ghar at all, but passing Tihwánah about six miles and a half on the east, ran away towards the south-south-west, and united with the Chitang a little west of Bhádará; and the two rivers then lost their name, and the united channels were known as the Hakrá or Wahindah, as already stated.<sup>436</sup>

“In going from Kaithal towards Múng Alá by Sher Garh and Gulá-har, the Ghag-ghar passes the latter place close under its walls. Five *kuroh* farther down is Mandohí, and the river passes north of it,” but now, it is close to it on the west; and beyond Makoḍar, some four miles lower down, and about three miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá, the Suwetí or Chhú-hey unites with the Ghag-ghar, which then separates into two branches as before mentioned.

In going from Múng Alá to Fath-ábád, at the same period, in the direction of south-west, you first went “two *kuroh* and a half south-south-west to Handhah,<sup>437</sup> on the bank of the Ghag-ghar, and in the Jamál-púr *parganah*; and, after that, four *kuroh* farther in the same direction to Haidar-Wálah on the other side of the river; and half-way between those two places the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed. From thence you had to go five *kuroh* to Shukr-púr,<sup>438</sup> which was also on the banks of the Ghag-ghar, which ran close by it on the right hand (north).” Now, you have to cross one channel of that river from Múng Alá to reach Handhah; and both it and Haidar-Wálah are close to the west bank of another channel, and Shukr-púr is at present some two miles from the banks of the Ghag-ghar. Moreover, in 1821, when Captain John Colvin of the Honourable Company’s Engineers surveyed these rivers, the present southern-most of the two

without mentioning it. On this occasion the Bádsháh’s son, Humáyún, was despatched from the right wing of his army to Híṣár Fírúzah, some ninety miles S. S. W., against the Afghán troops there, but from Mr. Dowson’s version it would appear that Humáyún was with his father all the time. Híṣár Fírúzah, the revenue of which was estimated at a *karor* (of *tangahs*?) was sacked, and was afterwards conferred upon Humáyún, together with a *karor* in money.

Chhat (mis-called “Chuth” in the maps) was a *maháll* of the *sarkár* of Sahrind in Akbar Bádsháh’s reign; its revenue amounted to 750,944 *dáms*, and free grants computed at 49,860 *dáms*; the people were Afgháns and Ráj-púts; and they had to furnish 650 horsemen, and 1100 foot for militia purposes.

<sup>436</sup> See page 422, and compare the “Calcutta Review” article which makes it no to the Ghag-ghar instead.

<sup>437</sup> Turned into “Handee” in the maps.

<sup>438</sup> This is the place called “Shikohpoor” in the maps, and not that called “Shukoorpoor,” twelve miles south-west of Múng Alá.

channels passing between Múng Alá and Ṭihwánah,<sup>489</sup> was lost (or, at least, is not marked in his map), a mile and a half south-west of Handhah. Lower down again, in going from Múng Alá by Ṭihwánah to Bar-Wálah nearly due south, it was necessary to go two *kuroh* and a half in that direction to Rám-púr, and to pass the Ghag-ghar, which flowed under its walls. Now, you have to cross two channels, and the second one nearly a mile *before* reaching Rám-púr. Jamál-púr, an ancient place, likewise, was then one *kuroh* east of the Ghag-ghar, but now it is two miles and a half distant from its southern-most channel.

<sup>489</sup> For some miles north of Ṭihwánah in Hariánah, where the Ghag-ghar separates into two branches, and from thence westwards towards Sirsá, the villages and lands lying along the banks of the northern channel are known by the general name of Sot-har or Sotá-har, so called from the Sanskrit **स्रोतः** *sot* or *sota* signifying, 'a spring,' 'a stream' 'a river,' but the river Ghag-ghar is not called by that name save in the sense of 'the river.' These *sot-har* lands are very productive and yield two harvests yearly, the autumnal one being rice. Sarsutí or Sirsá produced much rice in Ibn Baṭúṭah's time (see page 264). On the other hand, the villages lying along the banks of the southern channel are known as the Dában villages, on account of the abundance of a species of grass known in Hindí as *dáb* (a sacrificial grass—*poa cynosuroides*) growing along its banks.

In the Fírúz-púr district the broad belt of sandy soil covered with hillocks, of from two to three miles in breadth, lying along one of the old channels of the Sutlaj, is called "*sot-har*" or "*sot-hara*." See note 477, page 432, and note 423, page 403.

Hariánah, especially its western and southern parts about Fath-ábád, the Fírúzah Hişár, Tohsham, and Bhawání, the parts nearest to Bikánír and Jasal-mír, is called *Bánjar* - بانجر - or *Banjar* - بنجر - from Sanskrit बंध्या in which there is *g*, but the word has become vitiated, and this part is called *Bángar* by those who do not know the derivation of the word. The term means 'lying waste,' 'dry,' 'arid,' 'thirsty,' etc. These parts contain sand hills, and are subject to violent dust storms, so violent, indeed, that very often after one of these storms, the seed sown by the cultivator is covered and spoiled. In some places villages have been abandoned on account of the wells becoming filled up from the same cause.

From fifteen to twenty-five miles towards the south from Suhání (the "Sewanee" of the maps) and the Bikánír border, in place of sand hills there are some bare rocky hills, which rise like islands from the sandy tract, but they do not rise to any great height, the highest not exceeding eight hundred feet or thereabouts. The town of Tohsham stands on the northern skirt of the highest of them. These appear to be the hills referred to by Ibn Baṭúṭah on his way from Uboh-har to Dihlí. See page 264.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient India," (page 247), says: "the country of which Bikaner is now [!] the capital was originally called *Bâgar des*—the land of the Bâgri or Warriors, whose leader was Bâgri Rao. If so, it would be "*Bâgri des*, not "*Bâgar des*;" but it will be seen that he has merely "identified" the word *bánjar*, or rather the vulgar form *bángar*, above referred to, for "a warrior" (we are not told when the "leader, Bâgri Rao," flourished), and that the "Bâgri warriors" are sand hills. "Hariánah," herein referred to, the Survey record states,



“To the south of Múng Alá,” according to my Survey account, “is the river called the Chhú-hey ( چھوہئی ). Some say it is the Paṭiá-lah river, which passes one *kuroh* west of Samánah, and unites with the Ghag-ghar, and, that in the district and neighbourhood of Samánah, they call it the Suwetí; but, according to the most trustworthy accounts, it is the Ghag-ghar, the waters of which, through the closing of the *band* or dyke of Jamál-púr in this same district, spread out [in that direction].”<sup>490</sup>

The closing of this *band* or dyke appears to have tended to the formation of the present southern-most of the two channels into which the Ghag-ghar now separates east of Múng Alá; for, at the time of the Survey here quoted, “the Ghag-ghar,” it is stated, “flows towards the west in *one* channel, and winding considerably, to Rutíah, situated close to its south bank, and Kulotah, close by on the north.”<sup>491</sup>

“is a dependency of Dihlí, and they likewise call it *Bánjar*, that is to say *Khuṣhk* [signifying, in Persian, and used in the Urdú dialect], dry, arid, etc., (see preceding note 489),” but *harí*, from which the name is supposed to be derived, is from Sanskrit, and that signifies ‘green,’ etc.. Hariánah extends in length from Bahádur Gaṛh to the Fírúzah Hiṣár more than one hundred *kuroh* in length, and in breadth, from the river Ghag-ghar to Mewát, about the same distance. It contains excess of sandy waste and uncultivated tracts and *jangal*. It is not usual to build fortifications, forts, or walled towns, or villages, but around each inhabited place they set up branches of thorns to about twice the height of a man, dig a ditch around it, and consider this sufficient. In defending such places these people manifest great bravery.

“The inhabitants are Jaṭs, Gújars, Ránghars, Ará’íns, Háns, and Afgháns. The latter began to settle here during the rule of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk ruler of Dehlí, who was the first to entertain Afgháns in his pay, and, subsequently, during the time of Afghán rulers. On account of the difficult nature of the country these tribes have become rebellious to the authority of any ruler [that was when the author wrote, about a century ago], and are a source of trouble and difficulty on account of their lawlessness and excesses. \* \* \* Without a force of cavalry, this territory cannot be brought under control [See following note 498]. Jíndh, Hánsí, Hiṣár Fírúzah or the Fírúzah Hiṣár, Agrohah, Faṭh-ábád, Jamál-púr, Ṭihwánah, Kaithal, Miham, Bhawání, Chirkhí, Dádri, Bírí, Nángálí, Kharkhodá, Jajh-har Rohtak, Kohánah, Bainsí, etc., are its principal towns. Hiṣár Fírúzah, Hánsí, Agrohah, Faṭh-ábád, Jamál-púr, Ṭihwánah, and some other places in that direction, are in a state of ruin and desolation through the rapine of the Sikhs, and the tyranny and lawlessness of the Bhaṭís.”

<sup>490</sup> At the present time (that is, when the “Indian Atlas” map was made) the Chhúhey passes two miles and a half east of Múng Alá, and unites with the Ghag-ghar about the same distance south-east of that place, and just two miles west of Makodaṛ (“Mukodur” of the maps), immediately north of which the Ghag-ghar flowed, and still flows.

<sup>491</sup> It now passes south of it.

From thence it runs to Dundhál,<sup>492</sup> a little before reaching which, it turns to the south-westwards, and runs on towards Sirsá, which it passes a little over four *kuroh* on the west, and close under the walls of Jhorur and Dhunor, situated on the right or north bank. Hereabouts the bed becomes very broad, and the waters to spread out for nearly a *kuroh* or more farther eastwards. The channel passes within a short distance—about a quarter of a *kuroh*—south of the ancient Fírúz-ábád;<sup>493</sup> and water is to be found for a long way farther west to near Bhiráj kí Tibbí,<sup>494</sup> and considerable quantities of wheat are cultivated. From Fírúz-ábád westwards the channel becomes very broad, and runs a little to the north of west to Bhiráj kí Tibbí, which lies close to the south bank, a little north of which the channel of the *Chuwwá* (چوا)<sup>495</sup> from the north-westwards joins it; and the united channel runs to Bhatnír, distant six *kuroh* from the afore-mentioned Tibbí, and passes under the walls of that ancient fortress on the north side.”

The Ghag-ghar appears to have changed but little hereabouts for some thirty years; for, at the time of Captain John Colvin's Survey, the channel was found to be much the same<sup>496</sup> as noted in my Survey record, but, at the present time, after passing Zaffar-ábád, close to its south bank, and thirteen miles south-east of ancient Fath-ábád, there are several large *dhands* or lakes of standing water. Seven miles west of the first-named place, this southern-most of the two channels becomes well defined, and runs nearly due west, passing under the walls of the ancient town and fort of Sirsá<sup>497</sup> on the south, and unites with the

<sup>492</sup> “Doodhal” of the maps.

<sup>493</sup> Now, the other, or southern channel, unites some distance farther south.

Water is to be found in the Ghag-ghar in several places between Múng Alá and Fírúz-ábád.

<sup>494</sup> All the villages of this part, nearly, and the old ones in particular, are situated on mounds, hence the constant use of the Hindí words *ṭibbah* and *ṭibbí*, signifying a ‘mound,’ ‘height,’ ‘rising ground;’ and this fact indicates anything but scarcity of water.

<sup>495</sup> Called the “War N.” in the maps, immediately north of Sirsá; but, above Sunám it appears as the “Choeea Nud,” as though a totally different river!

<sup>496</sup> But it may have changed and re-changed its course several times in the interim.

In days gone by, it flowed without interruption from the hills, but, in more recent times, a good deal of its water was drawn off for irrigation purposes. At the present time, the greater portion is drawn off for that purpose; but, even now, when the river is in flood, the current is too dangerous for boats. Except on rare occasions, it is fordable everywhere almost.

<sup>497</sup> The A'in-i-Akbarí says that near Sirsá is a *kol-i-áb* or lake, the name of which is Bhádará. This seems to have disappeared.



northern channel two miles and a half east of Fírúz-ábád. From thence the united channels take a course more towards the west-south-west, towards Bhiráj kí Tıbbı<sup>498</sup> and Bhaṭnır, as abovementioned; and it still passes, as in times gone by, close under the walls of the old fortress on the north side.

From Bhaṭnır, in former times, as at present, the channel took a south-westerly course; but, according to my Survey information, it passed at the period referred to, “close under the village of Fath Gaṛh or Beghor on the west.” Near to Dıbh-lı,<sup>499</sup> the chief town and residence of the Wálı of Bhaṭnır, two *kuroh* west-north-west of Fath Gaṛh, there are *kolábs*, *dhandıs*, or lakes, which are filled in the rainy season when the Ghag-ghar is flooded, the river at such times, even now, reaching this point which is between five and six *kuroh* south-west of Bhaṭnır. From the afore-mentioned Fath Gaṛh it passed also close to the village known as Bhára Mal ke Bhaunrá,<sup>500</sup> also on the east bank, immediately west of which the channel of the Hakrá passed close to the said Bhaunrá on the south, which is just twenty-three miles and a half from Bhaṭnır. At, and near the point of junction, there were numerous long, narrow banks with dry channels between, the effect of changes in the courses of the two rivers caused by inundations.

At the present time the bed of the Ghag-ghar runs a little more west from Fath Gaṛh than previously; and the junction with the Hakrá channel is now more than two miles farther east than Bhára Mal ke Bhaunrá.

The Survey record states, that:—“Bhaṭnır, which constitutes part of the tracts inhabited by the Bhaṭı tribe, and styled the Bhaṭı country, contains about 40,000 families of this tribe. It is about sixty *kuroh* in length from east to west, and about twenty *kuroh* in breadth. The part lying along the banks of the Ghag-ghar and Chıtang rivers, reached by the inundations from them, is very productive; but, on the north-west and south, Bhaṭnır adjoins the sandy, arid, uncultivated desert tracts, called the Chúlistán, and which the Bhaṭıs term the Thal.”<sup>501</sup>

<sup>498</sup> In the time of the glorious East India Company, when India was happy and contented, but a time which, to her cost, she is not likely ever to see again, and the *rúpi* was worth *two shillings and three pence*, Skinner’s Horse, soon after their formation, were stationed on this, the then eastern frontier. See note 514 page 449.

<sup>499</sup> Dıbh-lı appears in our maps as “*Dabli*” and “*Dhubli*.” See page 410.

<sup>500</sup> Bhaunrá, in Sanskrit, means ‘a cavern,’ ‘a vault,’ etc.

<sup>501</sup> A most amusing mistake has been made respecting the Bhaṭıs, and by Gladwin, I believe, originally, in his translation, such as it is, of the A’in-i-Akbarı; and from that day to this the blunder has been carefully handed down by different writers, just like the “Pathan Dynasties,” and the ‘Ghickers’ and ‘Ghukkurs,’ etc., for the Khokhars.

## TRIBUTARIES OF THE GHAG-GHAR.

I must now refer, as briefly as possible, to the chief tributaries of the Ghag-ghar as they flowed about ninety years since.

“The Márkandá, which is a perennial stream, rises a little to the west of Náhún, where it is known under the name of Júrá Páni, and passes a little west of Rasúl-púr, which is just two *kuroh* north of Saḍ-húrá, after passing which it loses the name of Júrá Páni and is known as the Márkandá. It flows in the direction of about south-west, and reaches Sháh-ábád, which it passes close by on the north; and here it is known by the name of Makrá as well as Márkandá. From thence it runs on to Ṭhaská, which it passes close to on the north, and thence by Ismá’íl-púr, Chhaprá, and BÍbí-púr, which two latter places lie on the north bank. From the latter place it runs south of Májrá one *kuroh* from Kuhrá, to reach which place, from the southward, the Márkandá has to be crossed to Májrá. From Sháh-ábád to this point the course is a little to the south of west, after which it bends more towards the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar a little to the west of Agúnd.”<sup>502</sup>

At the present time, the Márkandá turns towards the south immediately *east* of Ṭhaská, and unites with the Sursutí instead of the Ghag-ghar, rather less than four miles north-east of Pehú’á, twenty-three miles and a half farther east than its former place of junction with the latter river.

In the account of the “Country of the Bhatties” by W. Hamilton, in his “Hindustan,” Vol. I., p. 523, he says: “The Bhatties were originally shepherds. Various tribes of them are found in the Punjab, and they are also scattered over the high grounds [!] to east of the Indies, from the sea to Ooch. In the Institutes of Acber [the *A’in-i-Akbarí*] these tribes are by Abul Fazel named *Ashambetty*.”

Abú-l-Fazl in the “*A’in-i-Akbarí*,” referring to the people inhabiting the Ṭhaṭṭah province dependent on Multán, says, that, “they are از احشام بهتی و جز آن *az aḥshám-i-Bhaṭí wo juz-i-án*.” He of course referred to the various sections or sub-tribes of the Bhaṭís, *aḥshám* being the plural of the ‘Arabic word حشم — *ḥashm* — and the person who originally made this absurd error, mistook the two words “*aḥshám-i-Bhaṭí* (here again the Persian *izáfat* was not understood. See note 242 page 276), for *Asham-batty*, leaving out the ‘*ḥ*’ of one word and ‘*h*’ of the other. *Aḥshám*, literally, means ‘fraternity,’ ‘bands,’ ‘bodies,’ ‘followers,’ ‘attendants,’ ‘servants,’ etc., but is used to indicate, not as regards the Bhaṭís only, ‘clans,’ ‘septs,’ ‘tribes,’ etc.

<sup>502</sup> There is no mention whatever of any river “Begunuh” which now, according to the maps, unites with the Márkandá two miles and a half south-west of Paplúthá, and this shows what great changes have taken place hereabouts in less than a century. This “Begunuh” river of the maps, is the “Begná” of the Gazetteers. It appears to be considered right that the two should differ — variety is charming!



“In going from Muṣṭafá-ábád to Anbálah, two *kuroh* west of Dhín you reach and cross the Márkandá; and, in going from Thání-sar by Ṭhaská to Paṭíálah, that tributary of the Ghag-ghar has to be crossed north-west of the latter place. Also, in going from Kuhráam to Pehú’á on the Sursutí, the Márkandá is crossed one *kuroh* south of Kuhráam.”

Now all is changed: the Márkandá does not reach within twelve miles and a half of Kuhráam, and has deserted the Ghag-ghar altogether. It turns south-south-west just before reaching Ṭhaská, and now unites with the Sursutí three miles and a half north-east of Pehú’á.

At the same period, the Márkandá was but a *kuroh* and a half from the Sursutí in going from Thání-sar to Paṭíálah. The Survey record says: “You leave Thání-sar and go half a *kuroh* west and reach the Sursutí; and another *kuroh* and a half brings you to the Márkandá. After crossing it, and going another half a *kuroh*, Hiṣálah (“Hussaluh” of the maps) is reached, lying on the right hand. Proceeding two *kuroh* farther in the direction of north-west, inclining north, you reach Baṛársí, where the Thání-sar *parganah* ends. Another two *kuroh*, in much the same direction as before, and you reach Sil Pání, in the Kuhráam *parganah*. From thence two *kuroh* more brings you to Dunyá Májrá on the right-hand side of the road. South of it is a small river channel dependent on rain, which comes from the right hand and flows towards the left, called the Wulinḍá, and from thence, after going another *kuroh* and a half west, inclining north-west, Ṭhaská is reached.”

Here again are great changes. The Márkandá now does not come nearer than within eleven miles of Thání-sar; and two small river beds intervene between that place and the Márkandá, which, at present, passes close under Ṭhaská on the south. The bed in which it now flows is evidently that in which the Wulinḍá then flowed, and to which it must subsequently have taken.<sup>503</sup>

Another tributary of the Ghag-ghar, called the Ūnbhlá (اُنْبَهْلَا), conveying the overflow of water from the hills south-west of Náhún, and between the Márkandá and the Ghag-ghar, has next to be mentioned. “It passes two *kuroh* north-north-west of Maubrā (مَوْهْرَا)<sup>504</sup> on the road from Sháh-ábád to Anbálah, and about three *kuroh* and a half from the former place, and subsequently unites with the Márkandá

<sup>503</sup> The Márkandá, from the nature of its stream and channel leaves much rich deposit after overflowing its banks, and in this deposit the sugar-cane flourishes exceedingly, as it also did on the banks of the Ghag-ghar in ancient times, when Sultán Mas’úd filled its ditch with sugar-cane to enable the troops to storm the walls of Sarastí or Sirsá. See note 261, page 288.

<sup>504</sup> “Mowruh” of the maps.

north-west of Kuhrá<sup>m</sup>. It flows in a very deep bed.”<sup>505</sup> Another minor tributary also called the U<sup>n</sup>bhlá, will be noticed presently.

“The Tilúhí (تِلُوْهِي), a river dependent on rain, arises from the overflow of water in the hills a little south of Náhu<sup>n</sup>. Its course is towards the south-west, and it passes close to Saḡhúrá on the west side; and a considerable distance lower down unites with the Panch Nadí, as the Ghag-ghar is also called after other tributaries unite with it.”

Now, this rain-dependent river unites with the channel of the Márkandá six miles and a half south-west of Saḡhúrá.

“The next tributary westward, the U<sup>n</sup>bhlá (اُوْنْبِهَلَا), rises in the hills west of Pinjor, a little to the west of the Ghag-ghar, passes west of Banhúr, and from thence runs towards Ráj-púra<sup>h</sup>, about mid-way between Anbála<sup>h</sup> and Sahrind, and passes the last-named place about one *kuroh* distant on the west side. In going to Sahrind from Ráj-púra<sup>h</sup> you cross it by a brick masonry bridge, but it is now in a dilapidated condition.”

Where it unites with the Ghag-ghar is not said, but it seems to have united with the Suwetí (سُوْبَتِي) or Chú-hey (چِهْوَهْتِي) a few miles between Sannúr and Paṭiála<sup>h</sup>; and it now unites with a river called the “Puttealawalee river” in the maps,<sup>506</sup> but which, at the time of this Survey, does not appear to have been in existence.

The next tributary is the Gumhtalá (گمھتلا). “It comes from the hills south of Pinjor, and a little to the east of where the Ghag-ghar rises. It takes a southerly course, and passes west of Anbála<sup>h</sup>. After leaving that place on the road to Sahrind, after passing the *kol-i-áb* [lake] outside Anbála<sup>h</sup>, one *kuroh* and a half north-west is that deep rain-dependent river, the Gumhtalá; and you cross it by a masonry bridge of brick, called the Pul-i-Ráj Gaḡ<sup>h</sup>, now dilapidated. Ráj Gaḡ<sup>h</sup> itself lies half a *kuroh* north on a *khák-rez* or artificial mound. This river unites with the Ghag-ghar between seven and eight *kuroh* farther to the south-west.”

Here a vast change has occurred. The Gumhtalá is no longer known; and the Ghag-ghar, since the period in question, has deserted its former bed a little below Chhat; and instead of flowing by Banhúr, it has entered, and flows in the old bed of the Gumhtalá to within

<sup>505</sup> At the present time, its waters (or a river of the same name) unite with the Ghag-ghar north of Agúnd. It is the “Oonbla” of the maps.

<sup>506</sup> This is the “Landra,” and “Paṭiála rau” of the Gazetteers, and the “Konsilla N.” of the maps, south of Paṭiála<sup>h</sup>; and the “Puttealwalle Riv.” of the maps, north of that place, is a mere tributary of the so-called “Konsilla.” See page 449.



about four miles to the northward of Anbálah; and then, having left it again, has kept nearer to Anbálah, within two miles and a half of which the Ghag-ghar now flows.

To continue the Survey account: "After passing the Gumhtalá over the Pul-i-Ráj Garh, one *kuroh* and a half farther north-west, and one *kuroh* south-east of Mughal Sará'e, and before reaching the Ghag-ghar from Anbálah, is the Bhág Ná'e ( بهاك نائي ) or Bhág Nahr ( بهاك نهري ).<sup>507</sup> It comes from the north-eastwards, but the exact place where it rises is unknown to the writer. Some say that it runs in a channel which was excavated by a former Bádsháh to conduct water to the Fírúzah Hīṣár. After flowing in a southerly direction for some distance, it passes west of Kámí and Gahnúr,<sup>508</sup> and from thence to Kuhram, among the buildings of which town it passes on the west side. It then takes a course more to the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar away in the direction of Samánah, near where the other tributaries unite with it, after which the Ghag-ghar is known as the Panch Nadí as well as Ghag-ghar.

"Another tributary is the Khánd [كهاند]; but, respecting the place where it actually takes its rise, the writer has no satisfactory information. In going from Kaisúr ( كيسور ),<sup>509</sup> south-west of Agúnd, to Bádsháh-púr, crossing by the way three channels or branches of the Ghag-ghar, here called Ná'e Wá-lí and Gájí Wá-hah,<sup>510</sup> and a little west of that place (Bádsháh-púr), you reach the rain-dependent river, the Khánd. It comes from the right hand (north-east) and passes to the left (south-west), and unites with the Ghag-ghar some few *kuroh* lower down; and the Suwetí river runs nearly parallel to its channel about two *kuroh* farther west."

This Khánd river seems to have been of minor importance; and, at present, all traces of it have, apparently, disappeared.

"Lastly comes the Chuwwá, a perennial stream, which rises in the Siwalík range like the others, but directly north of Anbálah.

<sup>507</sup> In another route it is said, in the Survey account, that, "on the road from Thaská to Paṭíalah after passing Ballá ( بالآ ), the "Ballur" of the maps, six miles south-east of Paṭíalah, the Ghag-ghar is joined by another tributary known as the Bágh-Na'e."

<sup>508</sup> "Ghunnoor" of the maps, six miles and a half S. W. of Anbálah. The correct mode of spelling the name, according to the people is as above.

Now the Ghag-ghar passes those two places about two miles on the *east*, instead of between three and four miles on the *west*, as in the time of the Survey.

<sup>509</sup> "Kussour" of the maps.

<sup>510</sup> In another place the writer says: "at Tihwánah it is called the Gájí-Wá-hah." He means, that, there it is *also* called the Gájí Wá-hah, etc.

It passes east of Sahrind, and is spanned by a masonry bridge of brick near that place. It then runs almost due south to Paṭiálah, winding considerably, and passing close to that city on the east and south, flows towards Samánah by Mayan and Khíri, and passes Samánah one *kuroh* on the west. It then separates into two branches, one of which taking a more southerly course, flows two *kuroh* west of the Khánd at Bádsháh-púr, and then runs towards Múng Alá, and east of it unites with the Ghag-ghar. The other branch runs from near Samánah towards the west-south-west in the direction of Sunám, under the walls of which it passes on the east<sup>511</sup> side, and is expended in the irrigation of lands beyond, or lost in the thirsty soil, about four *kuroh* east-south-east of Bhíki. This last branch is considered as the Chuwwá proper, and is not known as the Suwetí after branching off below Samánah, that name being applied to the other branch only. In former times this Chuwwá turned towards the south after passing Sunám, and ran a *kuroh* or more north of Bohah, again bent southwards and passed Fath, after which it ran westwards once more for some distance, and then again turned towards the south-west, passed east of Gúduh, and finally united with the Ghag-ghar immediately west of Bhiráj kí Tibbí.”

“In going from Sahrind to Anbálah, or to Paṭiálah, you have to cross the Chuwwá by the bridge before mentioned; and, in going from Paṭiálah eastward to Sannúr, you issue from the Dihlí gate of that city and pass the river by the brick-built bridge. Proceeding from Paṭiálah to Samánah by Mayan, Khíri, and Dhanan Thal,<sup>512</sup> you keep along the Chuwwá.\*\*\* In going towards Samánah by Sub-laun (سہلاون), a *kuroh* and a half nearly south from Paṭiálah, you go along the Chuwwá, and Mayan, before mentioned, is two *kuroh* farther down stream. In going from Paṭiálah to Sahrind by Múl-púr (مول پور), you cross the Chuwwá two *kuroh* before reaching that place; and, after going another six *kuroh* farther, cross the bridge over the Chuwwá and enter Sahrind.”

Here too, vast changes have taken place in the course of less than a century. Now, the Chuwwá (called “Choea Nud” in the maps), runs from Sahrind by Manşúr-púr, which it was twenty miles distant from before, to Sunám, and nearly encircles it; and another river (called “Choa N.” in the maps)<sup>513</sup> comes from mid-way between

<sup>511</sup> It passes it now on the *west* side. See note 485, page 438.

<sup>512</sup> This Sanskrit word here means ‘dry or firm ground.’ In the Panj-áb territory and Sind, however, the word is used to signify a ‘sandy, waterless desert.’ See note 455,\* page 424.

<sup>513</sup> One is styled “Choea” and the other “Choa” in the maps, by way of distinction, perhaps, but the word is Chuwwá, nevertheless.



Sahrind and Patíálah, and does not reach within five miles and a half of Patíálah on the west; passes two miles and a half west of Samánah, and eight miles west of Bádsháh-púr; runs towards the south, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá. Another new river from the north, which runs eight miles and a half east of Sahrind, and seven and a half west of Ráj-púrah (which, north of Patíálah, appears in the maps as the “*Puttealawalee Riv.*”), and which is joined by the Ūnbhalá five miles north of Patíálah, is the only river which at present passes near that city, and immediately north of which it appears to run in the old bed of the Chuwwá, which used to flow close under the walls of both Sahrind and Patíálah on the east. It is entered in the maps, below the latter city, as the “Konsilla N. ;” and passes four miles east of Samánah (the old Chuwwá passed one mile *west* of it), and unites with the Ghag-ghar, which formerly ran under its walls on the east; but, the nearest point at which it approaches that place now is six miles farther east.

To continue the Survey account.

“North of the Ghag-ghar, after the Sursutí and other tributaries unite with it, and between it and the Chuwwá proper, is a tract of country, often mentioned in history, and known as the Lakhí *Jangal*. It is nearly thirty *kuroh* in length, and somewhat less in breadth, consisting of excess of sandy tracts; and there is great paucity of water. Its name is said to be derived from Lakhí, son of Júndhára, who belonged to the Bhaṭí tribe. During one of the invasions of Hind by Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, he became a convert to Islám, and acquired the title of Ráná—Ráná Lakhí. He obtained a number of 'Arab horses; <sup>514</sup> and with a considerable following of the Bhaṭí tribe, who paid obedience to him, he was induced to take up his residence in this *dash*, and was there established for the purpose of holding in check and harassing the Hindú idol-worshippers of the country

<sup>514</sup> It might have been expected that the horses of Sind would have been good ones, from the infusion of 'Arab blood. The 'Arab conquerors must have brought numbers of horses into the country from time to time, and we might naturally have expected to find the breed of Sind horses good, but the contrary is the case: the horse of Sind is a miserable animal, whereas those of the Lakhí *jangal* or Lakh-Wál, and Haríánah, generally, are good.

The “Memoirs of George Thomas” states (page 132), that, “adjoining the province of Beykaneer is the district called the *Lucky jungle*, so much, and so deservedly celebrated for the fertility of its pasture lands, and for a breed of excellent horses of the highest estimation in India. The *Lucky jungle* is comprised within the district of *Batinda*, forming a circle of 24 kosses of the country each way. On the ‘N.’ it is bounded by the country of Roy Kelaun, E. by the province of Hari-anah, S. by Batiner, and W. by the great desert.”

around. These Bhaṭís, in time, peopled three hundred and sixty villages; and they bred thousands of excellent horses, which traders used to take and dispose of in distant countries, and so continued for ages to do. At the present time, through the tyranny and violence of the Sikhs, this tract of country has fallen into a state of complete desolation. \* \* \* In going from Patíálah to Sunám, and from thence by Bhíkí to Bhuláda from the last named place, you proceed seven *kuroh*, crossing the channel of the Chuwwá by the way, and reach Lakhí-Wál, in ancient times a large town, but now it is completely desolate.<sup>515</sup> The tract of country dependent on, or appertaining to it, is called the *Lakhí Jangal*; and Ajának and Sayyidí-Wálah, are Bhaṭí villages therein. From Sayyidí-Wálah one *kuroh* and a half distant, is Aortá, and from it another two *kuroh* is the afore-mentioned Lakhí-Wál.

“In another direction, in going from Jíndh to Bhaṭindah, after crossing the Ghag-ghar, seven *kuroh* and a half to the north-westwards of Múng Alá, you reach Sangat-púrah; and from thence go on another three *kuroh* to Hariá-o, which is a large village of the Bhaṭís in the *Lakhí Jangal*, and in the Sunám *parganah*. Another two *kuroh* in the same direction is Phulhará, from which, two *kuroh* west, is Bahádaṛá on the Chuwwá.”

Other ancient tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah coming from a totally different direction, must not be passed over, and which confirm the traditions respecting these parts. Jasal-mír, in by-gone times, was in a far more fertile and populous condition than it has since become,<sup>516</sup> and contains the remains of some very old cities or towns.

<sup>515</sup> In the year 657 H. (1259 A.D.), during the reign of Sultán Naṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, Malik Badr-ud-Dín, Sunḡar-i-Şúfí, entitled, Nuṣrat Khán, (held charge of the city of Tabarhindah, which is said to be the former name of Bhaṭindah, and Sunám, Jajh-har, and Lakh-Wál, together with the then frontier parts of the Dihlí kingdom, as far as the ferries over the river Bíáh. See my “Ṭabakát-i-Náşirí,” page 788.

<sup>516</sup> See the extract from Bú-Rihán at page 219, and also page 261, where mention is made of Nuṣrat Khán, son of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khaj Turk sovereign of Dihlí, who was directed, in 697 H. (1297-98 A. D.), to march the army under his command from Bakhar in Sind to Jasal-mír to take part in the campaign against Gujarát.

Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, of the Hon’ble Company’s Bengal Engineers, in his “Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara,” in 1835, acquired some valuable information respecting the Hakrá, and these its once perennial tributaries. He says: “That this country was not always so desolate may, however, be inferred from the tradition that Bikumpoor once stood on the bank of a river which was drank dry by a divinity taking up the water in the hollow of his hand: this exploit could not easily have been performed since the days of the royal hero who gave his name to the fort, the Raja Beer Bikrumaject,



Its eastern part is still traversed by two river beds, now entirely dependent on rain, which take their rise in the low range of hills to the south-east of the town of Jasal-mír, a little to the east-wards of Poh-karn (the “Pokurn” and “Pokurun” of the maps). These run in the direction of north-north-west, and unite with the Hakṛá channel. These were once perennial tributaries of the Hakṛá, and at present even, the waters, when they are at their full, still reach the old channel of that river. These two rivers are known to the people of the country under the name of Hakṛá. The water contained in these, together with other water in the bed of the Hakṛá, now go to form extensive

about whose era it is said to have been founded; and there are really within its precincts a couple of *mundurs* or pagodas that appear almost old enough to have been coeval with the great Bikrum who flourished about nineteen hundred years ago. The fort of Birsilpoor, of which an account has already been given, being only seventeen hundred years old, modestly claims a less antiquity than the above, and is said to have been built as a half-way house or resting place in the dreary track between Bikrumpoor and Poogul.

“Should there be any foundation for the above tradition, it may have arisen from one of these three causes; either that the small stream running north-westwards between Pohkurn and Jesulmer, instead of losing itself in the marsh near Mohungurh and Bulana, may have found its way through the low lands at Nok into the neighbourhood of Bikumpoor; or, secondly, the river Kagur [the Ghag-ghar he means] that waters part of Huriana may have continued its westerly course to the valley of the Indus [here he, of course, refers to the Hakṛá of which the Ghag-ghar was one of the principal tributaries], being possibly in those distant ages unchoked by the sand-drifts that have been accumulating for centuries to the west of Futehabad and Buhadra: or, lastly, *the bed of the Sutluj and Ghara* [sic] *may at some remote era have had a much more easterly position* [see page 417 of this]; *for it seems to be admitted that the channel of the great river Sind has itself shifted from the same quarter, perhaps at a comparatively recent date*; for instead of running as formerly from below Dera Ghazee Khan to near Ooch, it now flows more than twenty miles to the westwards of this city.”

Tod also says: “The same traditions assert that these regions [Bikánír, etc.], were not always either arid or desolate,” and that its deterioration dates “from the drying up of the Hakṛá river, which came from the Panjab [!] and flowed through the heart of this country and emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekker and Ootch \* \* \* It ran eastward [referring to the “Sankra”] parallel with the Indus \* \* \* This catastrophe [the drying up of the Hakṛá] took place in the reign of the Soda prince Hamir.” Vol. II.

From this, however, it will be seen that he has mistaken the Sutlaj for the Hakṛá, which latter is his “Sankra,” and which was one of the names it bore, and still bears after entering Sind.

The same writer also observes, that, “History affords no evidence of Alexander’s passage of the *Gharah*,” which is quite correct; for no such river existed until the Bíáh and Sutlaj finally united their waters in the last century. See note 390, page 380.

*rans*, the name given in these parts, as well as in Sind and the southern parts of the Panj-áb, to marshes or marshy ground. Some of these *rans* or marshes are very extensive, one of them, near the very ancient and deserted city of Hardah, is seven or eight miles in length, and from two to two and a half miles in breadth. There are others near Mohan Garh, Gaṭhorah (Boileau's "Gotaroo"), Khabah or Khabo, and some other places. The water found in these marshy places is quite sweet, with the exception of that in the *ran* of Gaṭhorah, and perhaps one or two others, which are salt.

After the waters of these two river beds under notice subside, the land which had been flooded on either of their banks when the waters were at their height, are brought under cultivation, and yield good returns. The beds, in some places, contain a great deal of *jangal*, and trees here and there, and also some extent of grass land, in which the Bhaṭí Rájah of Jasal-mír pastures his horses and brood mares.

The town of Jasal-mír is very ancient, its foundation being attributed to the great Rájah, Sálbáhan [Sáliwánah]. The people have reservoirs of stone attached to their dwellings for storing rain water, that element being very scarce. Most travellers have found water in the wells of this part and of Bikánír only at very great depths; but, in the bed of the Hakrá, in many places, excellent water is said to be obtainable within a foot or thereabouts of the surface.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>517</sup> Tod's explorer, confirms the finding of water here, but confounds the bed of the Ghag-ghar with that of the Hakrá, of which the former was a tributary. Tod says: "Abu Birkat in going from Shahgurh to Korialloh [which, in his map, is written "Kharroh," on the extreme north-west boundary of Jasal-mír, and to the northward of Gaṭhorah mentioned in the previous note], notices the important fact of crossing the dry bed of the *Cuggur* [as he spells Ghag-ghar] five *kos* west of Korialloh, and finding water plentifully by digging in its bed."

The Khároh here mentioned lies close to the western boundary of Jasal-mír towards Sind, on the route from Khair-púr Dehr ke to Jasal-mír. One of the most ancient channels of the Hakrá or Wahindah, which comes from the direction of No-har or Islám Koṭ, passes near Khároh, and some eighteen miles west of Sháh Garh, on its way towards the main channel of the Hakrá near Khiprah or Khipro, by Koṭ Jíboh ("Jeeboh" of the maps), there unites with the Hakrá channel about midway between Bahman-ábád and Amar Koṭ. Between Sháh Garh and Khiprah several small *dhanḍ*s or lakes still remain in this old channel, now nearly obliterated.

This place, Khároh, appears to be the same as is referred to in the legend of "The Seven Headless Prophets," related by Burton respecting the prophecy that the waters of the Hakrá shall again run in its ancient channel. The verse is:—

"Karo [Kháro?] Kabaro's walls shall view  
Fierce combat raging half a day;  
The Mirmichi shall routed be,  
Then, Scinde! once more be blithe and gay."



To the west of Jasal-mír, about half way between it and the channel of the Hakrá, which formed in ancient times the boundary between Sind, Multán, and Jasal-mír, the face of the country changes considerably, and habitations there are none, with the exception of a few huts here and there. Scarcely anything but sand hills, and loose, shifting sand of a reddish yellow colour, meet the view. Some of these sand hills are over fifty feet in height, the sides of which nearest the wind, or rather the sides mostly acted on by the wind, are almost perpendicular; while in some places *ṭibbaks* or mounds are to be found, some of considerable elevation and area, the surfaces of which are free from sand, and are covered with grass, and sometimes have a few stunted trees and shrubs upon them, and sometimes a pool or well,

“Mirmichi,” he says, “has no precise meaning.” The verse respecting the Dyke of Aror and the Hakro, has been given farther on.

We have some valuable information respecting the state of the country between Multán and Jasal-mír and beyond, the part through which the two rivers, rising near Poh-karn once flowed on their way to unite with the channel of the Hakrá, which passed by No-har on the west frontier of the Jasal-mír state, in the account of Sulṭán Mahmúd’s march from Multán by Jasal-mír towards Somnáth.

“The Sulṭán set out from Ghaznín in Sha’bán, 416 H. (towards the end of September, 1025 A. D.); and was joined by 30,000 cavalry from Turkistán, volunteers, who of their own accord came to serve in this campaign against the infidels and their notorious idol, entirely at their own expense, without pay or allowances of any kind.” The Sulṭán reached Multán on the 15th of Ramazán, the following month. “As a waste tract of country had to be crossed, he commanded that each person should carry water and forage sufficient for several days’ consumption, by way of precaution; and also had 20,000 camels laden with water and forage. In short, after the army had passed that waste tract, it reached, situated on the border or edge thereof, the fortress of Jasal-mír, and the city [*shahr*] situated near it. This city was taken and sacked, but the Sulṭán did not allow himself to be detained by the fortress, wishing to husband the energies of his troops for the more important matter. They likewise passed by the way several other places, which were filled with fighting men, well provided with all the implements of war, but such was the fear inspired by the appearance of this army in their country, that all the fortified places were given up without fighting. These were left uninjured, and only the idol-temples were destroyed, and the country cleared of infidels, who were in the habit of molesting all travellers who chanced to pass that way, in such wise, that it used to be avoided.” The Sulṭán’s route appears to have been nearly due south, passing between where Dísá (Deesa) and Palhan-púr now stand, and between Anhal Wárah and the modern Aḥmad-ábád, and from thence near Júnah Garh on the east.

“In the last month of the year, Zí-Hijjah (about the end of January, 1026 A. D.), the walls of Somnáth appeared in view;” but, into this I need not enter here: I hope to do so soon, if time permit. The Sulṭán returned from Somnáth by way of Manşúriyah, as already related, in note 105, page 196.

See note 232, page 271 on the wonderful “Maharája Maṇḍalika” and “Bhim Deva” of the “Tarikh-i-Sorath.”

and seem to have been sites of towns. As one continues to proceed westwards these sand hills begin to decrease, until at last only the ordinary sand hills, or waves of sand peculiar to these parts, remain.

The ancient town or city of Khabah or Khabo, before referred to, to the south-westwards of Jasal-mír, on the route to Mithraho (also pronounced, at times, Mitharo) and Khair-púr in Upper Sind, must once have been a place of great size and importance. It is said to have contained some eleven or twelve thousand houses, mostly constructed of hewn stone, many of which houses were of great size, and ornamented with stone carvings, the remains of which, still to be seen, attest the truth of the statements respecting it. There are also the remains of what must once have been two large *buds* or idol-temples, ornamented with stone carvings. When the Jasal-mír territory comes to be regularly surveyed, I apprehend that some interesting and valuable discoveries will be made, which will tend to throw some light upon the ancient state of these parts, once fertilized by the waters of the Hakrá or Wahindah and its tributaries; for, from the traditions and histories of the past, there can be no possible doubt, that these parts were once flourishing and populous, and contained several important towns and cities, the names of which have now been lost.

I have not deemed it necessary to the subject to mention the still smaller tributaries of any of these rivers, only such as refer to the main subject.

I must now return to the Hakrá or Wahindah again from where I left off on its entering Sind at page 422.

I have already mentioned that it passes Şáhib Garh and Kandhára or Kandháro. It passed the latter place three miles to the westward, and close to Khán Garh of Baháwal-púr on the eastside, into the Rúrhí district of upper Sind; but, although the channel appears in our maps of the Baháwal-púr territory as the “*Dry Bed of Rainee Nullah called Wahund,*” it is only called by its correct names of Hakrá or Wahindah in one: the rest have “*Old Bed of Rr. Wandu,*” or “*Wandun.*”<sup>518</sup>

<sup>518</sup> This is called by all sorts of names. The “*Gazetteer of Sind,*” page 4, says: “The deserted course of a large river now known as the Rén Nála still exists in the Baháwalpúr territory and the Rorhi district, and this joining the Nára [this is contrary to fact: the Nárah unites with the channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah], may very probably have emptied itself into the sea by what is now called the Kori mouth of the Indus.”

When the “*Report on the Eastern Narra,*” before referred to, was being drawn up in 1852, little was known respecting the course of the Hakrá, or possibly of its existence beyond the northern border of Sind, although Lient. Fife of the Bombay Engineers, in his valuable “*Report*” (page 40) mentioned, that, “from Choondawa



At a place called Jangan ten miles below Khán Garh above referred to, the channel of the Hakrá, the old Mihrán of Sind, turns towards the south for some miles, and then returns to the general course of south-west again, and becomes less marked than before, but distinctly traceable. This part is full of banks, and is seamed with channels of greater or less depth, indicating the action of water, plainly showing, that, hereabouts, it has changed its course from east to west, and from one side of its channel, more or less, several times.<sup>519</sup> Indeed, between Wanjh-rút and Dín Garh or Trihárah, one hundred and twenty miles to the north-east, and between Khán Garh to within a few miles of Birsil-púr in the territory of Jasal-mír, a tract just one hundred and thirty-two miles in breadth,<sup>520</sup> is perfectly seamed with channels and high banks caused by the action of water, through the shiftings of the course of the Hakrá and its tributary, the Sutlaj, on one side, and the tributaries from the side of Jasal-mír, referred to at pages 425 and 434, on the other, in the progress of the Hakra towards the ocean, under the process described in the first paragraph of note 446, page 415. It, however, continues to run in the same general direction from Jangan for some distance farther, and then bends south-westwards, then south for a few miles, then south-west again, in which direction it runs as far down as Mitharo or Mithraho,<sup>521</sup> forty-eight miles east-south-east of Rúrhí, when it bends westwards for a little over sixteen miles, and then meets the channel of its old western branch, which flowed about ten miles still farther west before it was diverted from the direction of Aror by a dyke erected about twenty-six miles to the east of that place. The present channel, or the remains of this western or diverted branch, is the Rá'in or Rá'íní, which appears in our maps as "Dry bed of the Raine Nullah."

to Nowakote the Narra is termed *Hakra* in this part of the country," and, that it "skirts the foot of the *Thurr* [the district of the *Thar* or *Thal* and *Párkar* is meant]." Also, that "the *Hakra* continues to skirt the foot of the *Thurr* for about thirty miles, after which it joins the *Pooran* [*Puránah*] below *Wanga Bazar*." He also mentions the numerous ruins of *masjids* near the villages, "which latter are all, apparently, of modern construction."

This last statement is hardly correct; for some of them are, unquestionably, of ancient date. All along the course of the Hakrá or Wahindah from Márút to the sea, are the remains of numbers of towns formerly of considerable importance, but which have gone to decay through the change in the course of that river. The large scale Revenue Survey maps will show what a number there are.

<sup>519</sup> See note 563, page 482.

<sup>520</sup> See page 483.

<sup>521</sup> The "Mitarhoe," "Mitrahoo," "Mitrahu," and "Mitrao," of as many different maps.

Having united with this branch, the channel of the Hakrá continues to run in a south-south-westerly direction, until about five miles south of a small village, the "Saida" of the maps, but correctly Sayyidah, the lower portion of the channel of its western branch, which passed Aror on the east and then turned south before it was diverted from that old capital of Sind, unites with the main channel again. In this old western channel coming from the northwards from Aror, the overflow from the Ab-i-Sind or Indus now finds its way, which having entered the great depression near Ghaus-púr, the remains of the ancient channel of the united Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Arab writers, or Panch Nad or Panj Ab, finds its way, lower down, into this old channel of the diverted branch of the Hakrá or Wahindah, and this water is, from the winding course it takes, locally styled the Nárah or Snake, the "Narra" and "Nara" of the maps and Gazetteers.

It will be noticed that the range of limestone hills, to which I have previously referred, rise a little north of Sakhar of the present day, passes on to Rúrhí, and, a little beyond it, begins to bend more towards the south, and that on the eastern skirts thereof Aror or Alor was situated, and there its ruins may still be seen. This range extends thirty-eight miles to the south of Rúrhí (Dijí Koṭ,<sup>522</sup> formerly called Aḥmad-ábád, is situated on its western skirt), and farther down, is succeeded by sand hills, some of considerable elevation, which stretch away seventy-four miles farther south, lessening in height by degrees. This range, and these sand hills south of it, separate the present Nárah channel or old bed of the diverted branch of the Hakrá, as already described; and those sand hills separate the united channels from what may be for convenience termed the present valley of the Indus. On the opposite or east bank, the sand hills of the *thal* or *thar* run in a direction from about north-north-west to south-south-west, and the channel of the Hakrá runs between them. According to the account of the old Arab writers already quoted (pages 207–214), the Rud-i-Sind wo Hind or Sind Rúd, also called Panch Nad and Panj Ab, having united with the Ab-i-Sind below Multán, still lower down, near the borders of the territory of Sind dependent on Aror, united with the Hakrá or Wahindah at a place called Dosh-i-Ab or "Meeting Place of Waters," and formed the great river which was known as the Mihrán of Sind and the Great Mihrán. About thirty-six miles lower down, this river again separated into two branches, the easternmost being the main branch, and the other, that which flowed past Aror on

<sup>522</sup> This place is said to have been a stronghold of the Sumrahs in ancient times. It stands, probably, where a Sumrah stronghold once stood.



the east, as already mentioned.<sup>523</sup> These re-uniting below the present Sayyidah, flowed in a slower current a little to the west of south, for a distance of about forty-eight miles as the crow flies; and just forty miles above Manşúriyah, near which latter place was “old Bahman-ábád” (not meaning, of course, that there were two Bahman-ábáds, but Bahman-nih, or Bahman-no, or Bahman-ábád, and Manşúriyah, or, as they were then styled, “Bahman-no—Manşúriyah”), they again separated into two branches. This place of separation one author (Al-Istakharí) states, was near Kalarí,<sup>524</sup> which was one day’s journey from Manşúriyah. Kalarí was two days’ journey from Anarí, which was four days’ journey from Aror, which was three days’ journey from Basmid, which was situated at about two days’ journey from Multán; but the Masálik wa Mamálik, and Ibn Haukal make the distance from Anarí to Kalarí four days’ journey instead of three.<sup>525</sup> Al-Idrísí calls the distance from Kalarí on the west bank, to Manşúriyah “a hard day’s ride of forty *míl* (miles).” One of these branches, the easternmost or main branch, flowed in a southerly direction as before, and passed under the walls of Manşúriyah (and near Bahman-ábád), which was situated on the west side, subsequently taking a more easterly course—about south-south-east—for some distance, and then resuming its almost direct southerly course to Wángah; and this channel is represented by the Puránah *Dhorah*, or as the Sindís call it, the Puráno *Dhoro*,<sup>526</sup> or Ancient Channel, to this day.

<sup>523</sup> See note 578, page 502.

<sup>524</sup> Kalarí, or whatever may be the correct word, was without doubt, near the point of separation of the Mihrán of Sind into two branches, just forty miles above Manşúriyah. Al-Idrísí says it lay on the west bank, and it was apparently situated some miles above the low lying and now marshy tract near to Jakráo, which latter place is just twenty-seven miles above Bahman-ábád and Manşúriyah. See page 213, and note 138.

<sup>525</sup> From Manşúriyah to Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, if the words دور, الدور, and دور of the old writers be meant for it, is just six stages of twenty miles each.

<sup>526</sup> In Hindí, the word *دهو*—*dhaú*—means ‘deep,’ also ‘deep water,’ and another signification assigned to it is ‘a marsh,’ or ‘morass.’ The Sindí *dhoró* is probably derived from the first meanings.

Mr. W. A. Hughes, the compiler of the “Gazetteer of Sind,” says (page 2): “Local tradition affirms that a portion of the Rann was once a highly cultivated tract, known by the name of SAYRA [See Wilford in note, 553 page 477], a branch of the river Indus [he mistakes the Hakrá for the Indus] then reaching it, but that it disappeared altogether when either the Sindians or a convulsion of nature diverted the waters from it.” He is so very careful as to *or*, but he could not have understood the tradition properly. Immediately after he says: “To this day, the upper part of the Kori mouth of the *Indus* [the Kohráí mouth of the Hakrá is

The other, or westernmost of the two channels which separated near Kalari, made a bend towards the north-east, and then gradually

referred to really] on which are situated the towns of Wangah and Rahim-ki-Bazár, is called Purán, or ancient stream [*puránah*, not *purán*, means anything ancient, and is the right word here], and the time doubtless was when the *Indus* [never: the Hakrá here again is mistaken for the Indus] by a more easterly channel than the present, supplied sufficient water to make a portion at least of the Rann fertile and productive."

It will be seen that the writer has mistaken the tract altogether. The great *ran* or marsh of *Kachh* was once an estuary.

When he comes to page 137, however, we have several "ancient streams," not one only. Referring to the channel of the Hakrá, which he here calls the "*Nara*," he says: "Another striking feature of this valley [which part of the country, he says, is little known] is, that along its whole length you can trace the dry bed of a large river. This main stream I take to have been the *Eastern Nára*, which flowing past Umarkot and through [!] *Kachh*, found an outlet into the Gulf of *Kachh*, or perhaps at Lakhpat [he is not quite certain about it seemingly], and in modern times lost itself in the vast lagoon the Rann. This main stream threw off in its course several branches, the *Dhoras* or *Puráns*," etc., etc.

At page 267 he says: "The Kori mouth of the *Indus*, separating Sind from *Kachh*, once formed, it is supposed, the lower part of either the *Fuleli* river or the eastern *Nára*;" and farther on, at page 729, he writes: "The Kori or eastern branch of the *Indus*, separating Sind from *Kachh*, once formed the lower part of the *Fuleli*, and it also received the waters of a large branch thrown off by the main river during the inundations near *Bukkur*." This is what he previously styled "the eastern *Nára*."

In another place (page 844), respecting the district of "*Pákar*," he again mistakes the Hakrá for the Indus. He says: "In many parts of this Political Superintendancy numerous beds of rivers long dried up are found intersecting the arid tract of the *Thar* [the *thal* or *thar*, 'l' and 'r' being interchangeable, signifying 'desert']; and these would seem to show [What a delightful air of uncertainty pervades his statements!] that the waters of the *Indus*, or some of its branches, once flowed through it, fertilizing what is now a wilderness, and finding their way to the sea by either one of the eastern mouths, or through the Rann, or great salt marsh of *Kachh*."

On the very next page, reverting to the same subject, he says: "There being no torrents, floods, canals, or rivers in the *Thar* and *Pákar* proper, the water system comprises, in the first place, the *Eastern Nára*, previously described as being a natural channel, and most probably at some remote period the outlet to the sea of the waters of some great river like the *Indus*, together with its branches the *Thar*, *Chor*, and *Umarkot*." Were there ever such contradictions and suppositions about one river? I may add that there are no rivers called by such names.

MacMurdo was much more correct in his suppositions half a century before, but then he was not a compiler. He says, under "*Thull* or *Dhat*, and *Catch*," as he spells the words: "I have been informed that there are streams of water throughout this tract during the rains, some of which descending from the hills in *Marwar*, empty themselves into the desert, where they are lost, or find a drain in the *run* [*ran*] north of *Catch*. Others on the west border are branches of the *Pooran* [the



bent round again in the form almost of a half circle or bow towards Siw-istán, but did not approach nearer to it than about twenty-two miles, and, in after times, within about sixteen.<sup>527</sup> The channel of this branch, I believe to be represented by the present Mír Wá-hah or Mír's Canal, it having been utilized as such, and which now flows just seventeen miles east of Sihwán, the Siw-istán of former days. This branch, after passing east of that place, performing its half circle course, again bent towards the south-east, and re-united with the main branch about twelve miles below Manşúriyah, and reached the ocean by one mouth, known as the Khorá'í—the “Kori” of the maps and Gazetteers—separating Sind from Kachchh. It is not to be supposed that there was no change whatever in the direction of the channels; for every inundation made some change probably, as in the case of the channels of the rivers of the Panj Ab territory and Sind at the present day, but no radical change occurred for some time. Subsequently, but in comparatively modern times, I think, because the Mihrán of Sind passed near Manşúriyah when Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín was drowned therein in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd of Ghaznín (see page 196, note 105), the main branch, from the point of junction near Kalarí, took a course more to the east of south, and ran towards Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs, between which two places occur those numerous great *ḍhandḍ*s or lakes mentioned farther on. It then passed from ten to fifteen miles or more

*puránah ḍhorah* above referred to], which, to this day, receives water from the Garrah or Sutledge [the usual error: he really refers to the Hakrá of which the Sutlaj was once a tributary], by a channel known by the name of Narri [the Nára of Hughes]. I have heard of the Nirgullee [?] and the Hagra [Hakrá] on the west, and the Loni in the east,” etc., etc.

Cunningham, in his “Ancient India” (page 251), also mistakes the channel of the Hakrá for the “old bed” of the Indus. He says: “The old bed of the Indus still exists under the name of Nára, and its course has been surveyed, etc. \* \* \* The most easterly channel, which retains the name Nára runs to the S. E. by Kipra and Umrkot.”

He, however, reverses matters, and makes the Puránah *ḍhorah* run into the Indus, from S. E. to N. W., instead of into the channel of the Hakrá as it does do. He says: “The most westerly [!] channel, which is named Purána or the “Old River,” flows to the south-south-west, past the ruins of Brahmanabad and Nasirpur to Haidarabad, below which it divides into two branches \* \* \* one turns S. W. and falls into the present river 15 miles below Haidarabad and above Jarak. The other called the Guni turns S. E. and joins the Nára above Runaka Bazar,” etc., etc.

Dr. J. Burnes, in his account of Sind, says (page 21), that, previous to the year 1762, the Puránah emptied itself into the sea by passing Lakh-pat and Kotasir; and no doubt he is right.

<sup>527</sup> This was the distance when Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar wrote, about the year 1600 A.D.

on the west of Amar Kot, much as the channel still remains, which, from the place of junction, some forty miles above the sites of Manşúriyah and Bahman-ábád, the place of separation is not yet effaced, and indicates its having occurred, as near as possible, as described by the old 'Arab writers, the place of separation above Togachh being just forty miles. West of this, above Jakráo, is a great *dhand* or lake; and that branch gets no farther south towards Manşúriyah than Mithráo ("Mithrau" and "Mithrow" of the maps—a different place from that mentioned at page 454)—about seventeen miles; and hence it is the Puránah *Dhorah* or Ancient Channel. Indeed, from near Mithráo, above which the Puránah *Dhorah* branches off, down to near Bakhar, fourteen miles south-south-east, there is still an extensive tract of *ran* or swampy ground some two or three miles in breadth, and extending east and west about ten, in which is a short channel from the Puránah *Dhorah* which unites with the present channel above Bakhar (but "Bukar" in the maps), twenty-six miles north-east of Bahman-ábád. In the season of inundation a large tract of country, from eighteen to twenty miles in breadth, from Mithráo to the present Hakrá channel westwards, is under water.

Just beyond Togachh, where the channel of the Puránah *Dhorah* and the present Hakrá channel now separate, those numerous *dands* or *dhands* ( *دند* or *دھند* ), or long, narrow lakes commence, amounting to some four hundred or more, with high banks between them. These run nearly at right angles to the old channel, but parallel to the run of the great sand hills of the *thal*, *thar*, or desert, on the left or east bank, showing that, at some period, not very long ago, the river must have been of great breadth here, and have contained a large volume of water.<sup>523</sup> Some of these *dhands* or lakes are from four to five miles in length from east to west, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, and some of them are of considerable depth. The great lake near Amar Kot has been mentioned elsewhere.

There are also a number of places where there were ferries over the Hakrá. There was one near Bakhar, and another at Khiprah, or Khipro, as the Sindís call it, lower down; and there are nine in all in the *Thal*, *Thar*, or Párkar district. Of course such ferries do not refer to the crossing places in the channel of a *dried up river*, but to a river in which, more or less, water ran, and shows, that at no very distant

<sup>523</sup> In the "Report on the Eastern Narra," page 34, the Commissioner of Sind writes, that, "Authentic history and tradition concur in stating that *but a few generations ago*, there was more cultivation and greater population on the banks of the Narra [the Hakrá is meant] than exists now on those of the present Indus." See also what Ibn-i-Khurdád-bih says of this part in ancient times, at page 195.



period, a constant stream of some sort flowed therein, and of some depth. The wording of the treaty entered into by Nádír Sháh and Muḥammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí, tends to indicate, that, even at this period, 1152 H. (1739 A.D.), the river had not altogether ceased to flow.<sup>529</sup>

Even of late years, its waters, from as far northwards as the Baháwal-púr territory, have occasionally reached the ocean or very near it. In 1826 a flood from the river reached Lakh Paṭ. In 1833 a flood passed down as far as Wángah Bázár; and, in 1843, Major W. Baker of the Engineers, Superintendant of Canals in Sind, saw, near the head of the channel of the Nárah branch, the marks of flood which had risen eighteen feet, and to which, the Rá'in or Rá'iní branch of the Hakrá or Wahindah contributed a considerable portion. The Puránaḥ *Dhorah* appears to have once flowed between its present channel and the one now called the "Eastern Nara" by English writers; for the remains of it still exist. There can be little doubt, but that it shifted constantly from one side to another; and as most of these channels have not been subject to regular inundations for some centuries past, and only obtain a comparatively small portion of water when the rivers farther north overflow, they have not been subjected to violent changes.

There can be no doubt, that the subsequent diversion of one of the branches of the Mihrán of Sind—the Rá'in or Rá'iní—which united into one great river at Dosh-i-Áb, must, in some measure, have upset almost the whole river system of Sind so to say, and that that diversion caused, not immediately perhaps, the stream farther to the south to forsake the *puránaḥ* or ancient channel for the present existing channel by Amar Koṭ, and was the cause of the other, which ran towards Síw-istán, and which again united with the other branch some distance below Maṣúriyah, ceasing to flow altogether.<sup>530</sup>

<sup>529</sup> The water in these *dhandṣ* or lakes is the water of the Hakrá in reality, which finds its way down in time of extensive floods from as far upwards as the middle of the Baháwal-púr territory, but some also comes from the overflow of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, which finds its way by the great depression, the old channel of the Panch Nad when it was a tributary of the Hakrá, into the present Nárah channel lower down, but this is not much.

<sup>530</sup> Alexander, having left the confluence of the three united rivers, Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes, with the Indus, as related in the previous note 361, page 366, sails down the Indus, according to the Greek writers—but according to the courses of the rivers in ancient times, down the Hakrá or Wahindah, after the junction of the Panch Nad or Panj Áb rivers, including the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, with it at Dosh-i-Áb—to the dominions of Musicanus, which, according to Strabo, "was the most southerly part of India as described by Onesicritus, who minutely describes

In proof of what I have advanced, let us look at the two channels of the Hakrá or Wahindah in their present or recent state.

it." The author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, not knowing anything of the existence of the Hakrá and its tributaries, supposes it to suit the well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy [the author should have added "and the Arabis of Arrian," which is supposed to be the Púralí river in Mukrán, ninety miles west of the Aral] and the Indus," a part, which, of course, he knew nothing about. I shall not follow his other statements, and would merely remark, that Alexander *must have* sailed down the Mihrán of Sind; for the writer just alluded to, says, "he was now approaching the upper end of the delta of the Indus [Mihrán] where the river divides into two streams." This cannot refer to the separation of the great river below the Dosh-i-Áb into two branches and below which Wanjh-rút stood (See page 497), one of which passed Aror on the east, from what is stated after, but to the position of Kalarí, where the Mihrán separated into two branches about forty miles above Bahman-ábád. It is stated further, that, "the river enters the sea by two channels of unequal size, more than one hundred miles apart from each other. The enclosed space was named Pattalenè by the Greeks, from the city of Pattala, situated within the delta below the point of division," which the learned author supposes was "at no great distance from modern Hyderabad," and which he, not knowing how or when Haidar-ábád was built, supposes may be "*the same cities*, as some modern Hyder might easily have imposed his own name on the ancient Pattala [!] \* \* \* Here Hephæstion was ordered to build a citadel, and construct docks and a harbour at Pattala, while Alexander himself sailed down the right [west] branch to the ocean." He is then said to have returned to Pattala, and, subsequently, to have sailed down the left or eastern branch, and reached an extensive lake, and an estuary, to the ocean, and "was satisfied that the western branch [? eastern, apparently, from the context, and what the other writers say] was better calculated for navigation than the eastern [western?]." See the extract from the Balázari, page 256.

To judge from the courses of the Mihrán as it existed some fourteen centuries ago, Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád lay below the point of separation of the river into two branches, and about the position in which Pattala is said to have stood; and the lake reached in going down the left or east channel, that which existed at the time of the 'Arab conquest, and the estuary at the Shákarah or Sagárah mouth, some twelve miles wide, the Shágarah inlet or estuary. At the time of the Greeks, the last named mouth must have been at least fifty miles above Badín, and the western branch not much to the south, if so far south as the Makhahlí hills near Thaṭhah. The whole of the Sháh Bandar district of Sind may be said to be of comparatively recent formation.

Strabo, quoting Aristobulus, says "Pattalenè was formed by the two branches of the Indus [Mihrán of Sind], and that the two branches are distant 1,000 stadia from each other [at their greatest distance?] \* \* \* he reckons each side of the included island [or *bet*], which is of triangular shape, at 2,000 stadia, and the breadth of the river, where it separated into two mouths, at about 200 stadia. He calls the island delta."

These distances must be greatly exaggerated—doubled at least.



After the so called Nárah channel unites with the main channel of the Hakrá below Sayyidah, and the rocky hills on the west side of its valley terminate and the sand hills commence, the bed of the Hakrá begins to increase in breadth; and while the Nárah channel at Šálih Paṭ is (or was; for the opening of the canal may have caused some change), *three hundred* feet broad, at Janjhú'í, about twenty-eight miles below its junction with the main channel of the Hakrá, the breadth in some places is from *two to three thousand feet*, but the depth decreases in proportion. At about eighty-two miles below Aror, and forty-four below the point of junction of the Rá'in or Rá'iní (the present Nárah channel) with the main branch of the Hakrá (just forty miles above the site of Bahman-ábád and Maṣúriyah), clearing the sand hills which kept it within bounds on the west side, the channel again separates into two. One turns to the south-south-westwards, and the other about south-south-east. The former, which is generally dry, and is very deep in proportion, is that which, in bygone times, flowed by the walls of Maṣúriyah and Maḥfúzah—hence its name “Puránah *Dhorah*” or ancient channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Great Mihrán, as well as Hakrá, Wahindah, Sind-Ságar, or Sankrah. It is

The account of Curtius is, that after Alexander left the confluence of the three rivers of the Panch Nad or Panj Áb with the Indus, after sailing down *four days* from that point, he disembarked, and sent Craterus “to march the army at no great distance from the river on which he was to sail.” Then embarking again, Alexander came down stream, but how far is not said, into the territory of the Malli [another of the same name!] and Sabracæ. \* \* \* After sailing on *another four days*, he reaches another territory, where he built a city [one would imagine the materials were carried in their pockets: it takes time to build cities and find the materials, even if built of mud mortar], which he ordered should be called Alexandria. He then enters the country of the Musicani, subdues the country, puts a garrison into their capital, and from thence marches against the Præsti, another people of India. Their strong city is taken after the third day. He then enters the territory of king Sabus. Then *another four days sail* [twelve days in all: the distances each day must have been small] brought him to a city which *led* into the dominions of king Sambus. The city of his people was attacked, and Ptolemy wounded. Subsequently, Alexander *marched into* the province called Parthalia [Pattalenè of the other writers], whose king “fled to the mountains.” There are no mountains near: the lime-stone hills near Aror are probably meant. Here he made choice of guides [pilots?] who knew the river, and sailed down to an island [*bet*] that stood almost in the middle of the channel [no doubt Bakhar, some will say, but see the island or *bet* of the *Chach* Námah, in note 187, page 234], but the guides got away. He had only proceeded 400 stadia, however, [about 50 miles from where he took his “guides”], when “the pilots told him, that they *began to be sensible of their near approach to the ocean*. On the third day it was perceived that the sea began to mingle its waters with that of the river.” Curtius' description of the approach to the sea-coast is clear and interesting.

quite distinct a little way north-east of Mír-púr. The other passes by Pathayah and Bakhar, both of which are notable places, as I shall presently show: indeed, there are numerous ruins, the remains of ancient towns, of greater or lesser size, still remaining along the courses of these old channels;<sup>531</sup> and tradition affirms that this tract was once the most flourishing part of Sind, and its soil is still most productive where water is available.<sup>532</sup> Pathayah and Bakhar are, respectively, thirteen and twenty miles below this point of separation of the two channels, and on the banks of the main one or Hakrá, which now runs towards Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs; but, fifteen miles above that ancient place, it bends or turns more towards the south, and after running in that direction for about eighteen miles, and passing thirteen miles and a half west of Amar Koṭ, begins to bend more towards the south-south-west again; and as far as this and beyond, it is still known as the Hakro, as the people of Sind pronounce it.

At Nowah Koṭ, a little over fifty-one miles south-south-west from Amar Koṭ,<sup>533</sup> and eighty-two south-east of Haidar-ábád, it again

<sup>531</sup> The "Report on the Eastern Narra" says (p. 6), that "There are villages all the way [down] on either side, especially below Saya [?]; and there are sand-hills to within four or five miles of Mithrow. \* \* \* The river runs in several smaller channels—sometimes in one only—from Sayddum down to between Mithrow and Bakhar, where some old channels occur."

<sup>532</sup> South of Bahman-ábád, between Amar Koṭ and Khiprah, the ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist, including one known as Koṭ Rattá near the banks of the Hakrá, as well as others lower down towards the ancient mouth of the river, including the ruins of ancient Badín. Hereabouts are several branches from the main channel, clearly defined, but now dry, which intersect the country for fifteen or twenty miles westwards, and run nearly parallel to the main channel.

<sup>533</sup> Amar Koṭ, as is well-known (or ought to be) was the birth-place of Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Akbar Bádsháh, when his father, Humáyún Bádsháh, in great distress and misery, was returning to Sind from Jasal-mír, having gone thither by Diráwar and Bikánír, on his way to Mál Díw of Jodh-púr, who had promised him aid, and then deceived him. Finding he was liable to be attacked by overwhelming numbers, he, with his small following, turned off towards Jasal-mír, and from thence towards Amar Koṭ, the party being nearly starved for want of grain. Having reached Amar Koṭ, its chief, Ráná Bír-síl, treated him with great consideration, and gave up his outer fort to the Bádsháh's consort, whom he had married in Sind; and in that fort she gave birth to Akbar on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night—the night precedes the day in eastern computation), the 5th of Rajab, 949 H. (night of October 4th, 1542 A.D.). One of the "Panjab Gazetteers" actually tells us that "Malot" in the Hoshyár-púr district was the place of his birth!

Mr. Hughes in his Sind Gazetteer, of course, mentions the fact of his birth at "Umarkot," but then he adds a rare piece of history, to the effect that, "It was through this town that Akbar, when emperor, marched in A.D. 1591 to conquer Sind—an expedition, which, as history relates, was successful." Only Gazetteer "history" would relate such: Akbar Bádsháh was never in Amar Koṭ nor in Sind



separates into two channels, the westernmost of which is the largest; and just twenty miles below Nowah Koṭ, the ancient channel before referred to, the Puráno *Dhoro* of the people of Sind, but “Pooran River” of one map, “Phooran N. or R.” of another, “Phurraun R.” of a third, “Puran R.” of a fourth, and “Dhora Pooran” of a fifth, unites with it, and no further separation takes place until it enters the great *ran*, marsh, or morass of *Kachchh*; and at times, the waters therefrom, in periods of flood above, even now find their way into the sea by Lakh Paṭ and the Kohrá’í mouth referred to by the ’Arab writers.

On the east bank of the channel of the Rá’in or Rá’íní, in which the Nárah now flows, from near Aror downwards, the sand hills of the *thal* or *thar* or sandy desert on the east, run up close to the banks of the river, and continue to skirt the channel of the Hakrá, after the Rá’in channel again unites with the main one, down as far as Amar Koṭ, which is situated on the high bank. The bed here is very broad and marshy, and here also is the Samarah lake, or great *dhand* running parallel to the old channel of the river.<sup>534</sup> It is some fifteen miles in length, and from four to five in breadth; and on the west side of Amar Koṭ are other minor channels into which the river separated in its way to the ocean. Continuing downwards from near Amar Koṭ by Nowah Koṭ, eighteen miles below it, and four south of Wángah, or Wángah Bázár as it is also styled, the Puránah channel again joins the main one. Thus the united channel continues to run in the general direction of about south-south-west, until within six miles of Ráná ke Bázár—the “Rahna ki Bázár” of the maps—where it bends a little more southwards, and enters the great *ran* or morass of *Kachchh*; and the overflow

after his birth; and it was the *Khán-i-Khánán*, Mírzá ’Abd-ur-Raḥím, who annexed Sind, and he came by Multán and Bakhar.

<sup>534</sup> What may be the real origin of this name I am unaware, but ‘*samar*’ and ‘*sumur*,’ in ’Arabic, mean ‘a small lake,’ but this appears to have been a large one. See preceding note 530, page 461.

This is doubtless the lake of *Shákarah*, or a part of it, referred to in the *Chach Námah* respecting the movements of Muḥammad, son of *Ḳásim*, the ’Arab conqueror of Sind, and by the *Balázarí* in his account of the naval action there between the ’Arabs and *Jai Senha*, son of *Rá’e Dáhir*.

The “Report on the Eastern Narra,” states (page 40), that, “Between Ding and Choondawah the sand-hills recede eastward to Omerkote, forming a kind of bay, across which the river takes a direct course *viá* Trimmoo. \* \* \* During high floods the whole country from Omerkote to Soomara, a distance of eighteen miles, is some times under water.

“From Choondawah to Nowakote the Narra, or the “Hakra,” as it is termed in this part of the country [and its correct name], skirts the foot of the Thurr.  
\* \* \* Near Nowakote the channel is very large and deep.”

from that channel, in time of flood in Upper Sind, passes north of the Bandar or Port of Lakh Pat to the sea.

Such is the Mihrán of Sind or Great Mihrán, Hakrá, Wahindah, or Bahindah, Wáhind-Ságar, Sind-Ságar, or Sankrah, from its source to the sea, and which as late as Nádir Sháh's time was considered the boundary between Sind and Hind.<sup>535</sup>

It is necessary to mention, that there are a number of old channels — indeed traces of them are every where met with — between the channel of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus as it runs at present, and the channels of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá, one of which passes close to Shadád-púr on the west, and runs towards Bahman-ábád and Mansúriyah. It may be said, in fact, that, at different times, the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá has flowed over a great part of Sind, as far west as Shadad-púr, and this is fully indicated from the many vestiges of ancient towns

<sup>535</sup> Bahman evidently thought the same when he founded Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád.

The substance of the treaty between Nádir Sháh and Muḥammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí, mentioning the Sankrah, Sind-Ságar, or Hakrá, as referred to at page 461, I am able here to give. It is to this effect in the *Tárikh* of Nímat Khán, 'Alí: "The Government of Hindústán agrees to cede to the Sháh of Yrán of the Turk-mániyah dynasty, the whole territory of the west, from, and including Peṣ'háwar, the Bangaṣ'hát, the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábul, Ghaznih, and the *Kohistán*, the dwelling-place of the Afghán tribes [ here it will be noticed that "the Afghánistán," as described in my "NOTES," page 453, which see, is clearly meant ], the Hazárah-ját, the fortress of Bakhar, and Sakhar, Hamíd-ábád, and the whole of the district of the Derah-ját, and the place styled Qhaukí-i-Sokhtah, and other places belonging to the *ṣúbah* of Thaṭṭah, the *kaṣbah* of Budhan [ Badín ? ], the *parganah* of Haran, the *parganah* of Bíah-Wálí Kandah, and the other remaining *parganahs* belonging to Peṣ'háwar, together with the adjoining *parganahs* of Kábul, from the boundary of Aṭak, and the NÁLAH OF SANKRAH, THE EXTREMITY OF THE RIVER SIND-SÁGAR, which unites with the great ocean; and that the officials of Hindústán from henceforth shall not exercise any authority therein. And the Bádsháh of Hindústán, on his part, agrees to cede those territories, and from that date considers, that those territories here named are out of his charge and jurisdiction, and that they shall not, after that before-mentioned date, be accounted as comprised within or belonging to the empire of Hindústán;" and further, "that documents to this effect had been given to be a proof of the same." This was dated the 29th of Ṣafar, 1152 H. (26th May, 1739 A.D.). Multán was not included as Tod asserts.

By this treaty the whole territory comprised within the *ṣúbah* of Thaṭṭah, as constituted in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and the southern part of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah* east of the Indus, and the whole of the territory on the west side of the Indus, were lost to the Dihlí empire; and only what constitutes the Baháwal-púr state now, and the territory of the Panj Áb or Five Rivers, were left to it.

Writers of "Reports to Government" on "*Perom, Panjnud*," etc., and compilers of Gazetteers, would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these facts.



still remaining on the banks of the old channels. These ancient channels, however, by utilizing them as canals for irrigation purposes, and the yearly inundations of the Indus, are becoming fast obliterated; and this may be some plea for my venturing to record here the little information which I possessed respecting the Hakrá, and the other rivers herein mentioned, which were its tributaries.

The other channels between the present channel of the Sindhu, *Ab-i-Sind*, or Indus, and the Purána*h* *Dhorah*, or Ancient Channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Hakrá, immediately north and west of *Shadád-púr*, including that of the Loháno *Dhoro* of the Sindís, are the remains of channels formed after that branch of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá, which near Kalarí branched off to the north-west and then west towards Síw-istán, and subsequently re-united with the main branch which flowed past Bahman-no—Manşúriyah on the east. Those farther north, and extending eastwards of the present channel of the Sindhu, or *Ab-i-Sind*, between Sihwán and the lime-stone hills and sand bluffs running south from Rúhí, and bounding the valley of the Hakrá, as it may be termed, on the west, after the junction of the Nárah or old western channel just below Sayyidah, are the remains of the channels in which the Sindhu, *Ab-i-Sind*, or Indus flowed from time to time, in its continual movements towards the west, after it had finally deserted the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá subsequent to receiving the waters of the Panch Nad or Panj *Ab*, which likewise deserted it, as noticed farther on. The Sindhu or *Ab-i-Sind* took some considerable time to gain its present course, especially west and south-west between Bakhar and Siltah. From near Kanđiáro and Darbelo south and east, down towards Sakrand and *Shadád-púr*, its most ancient channels now existing run nearly the whole way between these places, as a glance at the map of Sind shows, but are still more clearly to be seen in the maps of the Revenue Survey. Among these old channels, probably, is that in which the river so repeatedly mentioned by the 'Arabs, the Kumbh, flowed, which passed between Síw-istán,<sup>536</sup> the modern Sihwán, and the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, and into which the *Ab-i-Sind* or Sindhu may have found its way during its repeated changes. These movements extended over a considerable length of time; for, in the time of Mírzá Jání Beg, the last of the Tar-Khán Mughal rulers of the Thaṭhah territory, which included Wícholo or Middle, and Lár or Lower Sind (999 H.—1590-91 A.D.), the river was still running six *kuroh* or about ten miles and a half east of Síw-istán or Sihwán.<sup>537</sup>

<sup>536</sup> See note 545, page 473.

<sup>537</sup> The compiler of the Gazetteer of Sind says (p. 286), that "among the largest canals of the Jerruck Deputy Collectorate is the Baghár or Bhaghiár.

To the recent formation of the lower part of the delta of the Indus I have already alluded; and if we draw a line from near Karáchí to about twenty miles above Lakh Pat, we shall be able to judge how far it extended in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, when Badín and its dependent lands constituted the extremity of Sind in that direction, all to the south of such line having been formed since.<sup>533</sup> To have a correct conception of how far it extended when the 'Arabs landed in Sind, we should draw the line from a few miles south of Pír Patho and Badín towards Wángah, or even much farther north-east towards Nowá Kot.

\* \* \* The Baghár or Bhaghiár (meaning the *destroyer*) is the western branch of the Indus, diverging a little south of the town of Thatta. \* \* \* It is said to have been in A.D. 1699 a very great stream, navigable as far as Lahori Bunder (then the principal port of Sind, and at the close of the last century, the seat of the English factory) 20 miles from the mouth, for vessels of 200 tons; afterwards it resolved itself into four branches." See the account of Debal or Dewal, note 315, page 317.

Del Hoste, writing in 1839, says "the Hajamree mouth had only then been in existence two years, and is now the main branch of the Indus."

Burton (Scinde: p. 168) says: "now the Ar or Bhágar is the western outlet of the Indus."

Ar, in Hindí, means 'prevention,' 'hinderance,' 'stoppage,' 'stop,' etc., and such a word as "Baghár" or "Bhaghár" as Hughes writes it, and "Bágár" as Postans renders it, I have not found; but *Bigár* is intelligible, from Hindí *bigárná*, 'to spoil,' 'damage,' etc.

Hughes in his Gazetteer says (page 768) in confirmation of this, that there are "Traditions of a town of great size called Samma Sumro having once existed a little south of the present village of Shah-Kapur [the "Shahkupoor" of the Indian Atlas map], in Mirpur Batoro talúka. Also a town called Rohrí in Jálí talúka, and supposed to have flourished about two centuries ago. Remains of forts are also in some places to be seen, but, owing to the peculiar and erratic course of the Indus towards the sea, and the consequent changeable nature of its various branches, there is no district which is likely to show less remains of antiquity than that of Sháhbandar."

These two places in Sháh Bandar district must have gone to ruin long before "about two centuries ago," otherwise they would have been mentioned in the accounts of Lár, Thaṭhah, or Lower Sind. Batorá, the Batoro of the Sindís, was the chief town of one of the eleven *mahálls* or sub-districts of the *sarkár* or district of Thaṭhah, in Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

Hughes also says (p. 767), that "the extensive flood, which occurred in Sind about 1819, the year of the earthquake in Kachchh, caused great changes in the lower part of the Indus, and tended to hasten the fall of Sháh Bandar, by withdrawing the water from the branch on which it stood. Before this Sháh Bandar was the naval station of the rulers of Sind; and since that time, still greater changes have taken place, and they are still going on."

<sup>533</sup> It is supposed, and with very good reason, that great part of the delta between Thaṭhah and Karáchí south, has been formed since the Ab-i-Sind or Indus



The identification hereabouts of places mentioned in Alexander's expedition, is even more illusive than farther upwards, according to the present courses of the rivers.<sup>539</sup>

Thus, from all that I have here adduced, the following are the results of my investigations; and from them, as far as tradition affirms,

deserted the channel which passed by Naşr-púr, and took a more westerly course. There is little doubt, indeed, but that great part of the Sháh Bandar district of Sind, as at present constituted, and the southern part of the Jarak district likewise, are of comparatively recent formation. See note 187, page 234 from the Chach Námah on the *Bet*.

Sultán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk Sultán of Dihlí, is said to have founded Naşr-púr on the then bank of the Ab-i-Sind, a different place from the fort near Naşir-púr, on the Sankrah or Hakrá. See note 173, page 224, note 555, page 479, and note 576, page 500.

It is stated, likewise, that after the annexation of the Thathah territory above referred to, the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Raḥím, desired to have a look at the great ocean before he returned to the Court at Agrah, and that he set out from his camp at Thathah for that purpose, and proceeding southwards two easy stages of about fifteen miles each, he obtained the sight he desired. The place from which he obtained a view of the ocean is called "Mughal-Bín,"—the Mughal's view in—consequence, to this day, *bín* being the Persian for 'seeing,' 'view,' 'sight,' 'glimpse,' etc., from the verb *dídan*- 'to see,' 'to view,' etc. The place appears in the maps as "Mughulbhin," "Mogulbeen," etc. It is now nearly fifty miles from the sea.

<sup>539</sup> With regard to the "identifications" of places, in Sind in particular, Postans very pertinently remarks on the building of cities and docks, that "though there may be every reason to imagine that he, whose whole life was a study how to acquire posthumous fame, was most anxious to leave some splendid monuments, which should attest to after ages the magnitude of his deeds on the immediate scenes of their enacting, he could not have found the two indispensables of a stable spot on which to erect them, or any sufficient lasting materials for his purpose: thus it is that throughout Sindh the most diligent and well directed antiquarian research has altogether failed to discover one single reminiscence of verified classical antiquity, or to incontestably fix one locality as that described by Alexander's historians." In another place he says, "to have trusted to such records in Sindh [and in great part of the Panj Ab also] would have been *to have written history in sand*." Indeed, all practical men who have dwelt in these parts, and surveyed these rivers, declare that identification is a farce.

As regards the lower deltas, where people expect to find places in the same situation on the Indus and near its mouths as they were ages ago, the following extract from Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," may be useful. He says, "The river discharges 300 cubic feet of mud in every second of time; or a quantity which *in seven months* would suffice to form an island 42 miles long, 27 miles broad, and 40 feet deep; which [taking the depth of the sea along the coast at about five fathoms], would consequently be elevated 10 feet above the surface of the water. Any person who chooses to run out this calculation to hundreds and thousands of years will be able to satisfy himself that much may be done by causes at present in action towards manufacturing deltas,"

and history confirms, the state of the seven rivers — the Saptah Sindháwah of the Sanskrit writings — between the Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Mihrán, or Ab-i-Sind, the Indus of Europeans, the whole of which united formed the “Mihrán of Sind,” or “Great Mihrán,” as some of the old writers style it, may be divided or classed under five great transitions or changes. I may assume, however, that it will be fully understood, that changes more or less, to a greater or lesser degree, took place then as now, during, and after, every annual inundation of these rivers; and that the beds or channels of the majority of them, in inclining westwards, were being gradually silted up, owing to the nature of the soil through which they flowed being, for the most part, alluvial, from causes well known to geologists, and particularly so with regard to the Sutlaj, but which latter river having reached a certain point where the tract of country on the west rose so considerably as to prevent its waters from surmounting the obstacle, this inclination westwards has been prevented, and, in all probability, finally stopped.

I will not go back so far as the Macedonian Alexander's time, because we have no definite or trustworthy information respecting the courses, or even the numbers of all the rivers and their tributaries of the parts now known as the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, and of the parts immediately to the east. But we learn from Aristobulus, as quoted by Strabo, that the country was subject to the shocks of earthquakes, that the soil was loose and hollow by excess of moisture, and easily split into fissures, whence even the courses of the rivers became altered. He also states, that, on one occasion, when he was despatched into the country upon some business, he saw a tract of land deserted, which contained more than a thousand cities (towns and cities?) with their dependent villages. “The cause of this was, that the Indus, having abandoned its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand [east], much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract, so that it no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel which the river had formed, but above that of the inundation.”

We also know from Indian sources, that the Sutlaj or Satadru — the Hesudrus or Zaradrus of the Greeks — long after Alexander's time, flowed in the easternmost of its ancient channels shown in the map No. 6. All the Greek accounts respecting these parts, are more or less, mere surmise and speculation; and when we find enthusiasts “identifying” towns, fortresses, and the rivers also, as they now flow, we can value such identifications accordingly.



The first reliable information that we possess, dates from about or shortly before, the time of the invasion of Sind by the Arabs—one thousand and thirty-nine years subsequent to the invasion of these parts by the Greeks—and when we find such changes occurring between 712 A. D. and 1890 A. D., a period of 1188 years, we may be sure that the previous 1038 years had not been without proportionate changes also.

At, or about the time of, the Arab invasion, the Hakrá or Wahindah, of which the Chitang, Sursutí, Ghag-ghar, and Sutlaj, and their smaller feeders, were tributaries, flowed in two channels from near Márúṭ, one of which channels, the easternmost, flowed about south-south-west by Ghaus Garh, or Rukn-púr of after years, Khán Garh (there are several places of this name, but this one lies on the south-eastern border of the Baháwal-púr state, near the western frontier of Jasal-mír), Wanjh-rúṭ (the Bijnoot of the maps),<sup>540</sup> and No-har or Islám Garh, skirting the Jasal-mír state on the west, and from thence down as far as Mitharo or Mitralo, on the south-east frontier of Sind as at present constituted, and from thence reached the *ran* or marsh of Kacheh, which it helped to form, by way of Amar Koṭ of the Sodahs.

The westernmost branch or channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah passed from Márúṭ more to the south-westwards, through the present Baháwal-púr state, into Sind, very nearly as indicated by the present existing channel, as shown in the general map, No. 1. Subsequently, through some change in the courses of its tributaries, probably, the eastern branch from Márúṭ deserted its old channel on the Jasal-mír border, and the Hakrá then lost the tributaries it previously received from the direction of Poh-karn, east of the town of Jasal-mír, altogether, leaving that part a sandy waste, and the beds of those tributaries ceasing to be perennial, became *rans* or marshes.<sup>541</sup> This great change is indicated by existing proofs, and accounts for all the channels still remaining after so many centuries, more or less prominent, over a space of some seventy-six miles from east to west, as already recorded.<sup>542</sup>

Where the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, Níl-áb, or Indus<sup>543</sup> at that period

<sup>540</sup> There are two places called Wanjh-rúṭ. This is different from that described at page 497, but were included, apparently, in the same district.

<sup>541</sup> Tradition affirms, that in the Bikánír territory, the waters of the Hakrá or Wahindah used to spread out into a great lake, near a place called Kak. Sháhamat 'Alí, in his account of the Baháwal-púr state, says, that Baháwal-púr stands on an ancient site which was called Kak. This great lake may have existed south and east of that place, for the country is seamed with channels and banks, but the position of Baháwal-púr is too far to the north-west to be the part indicated.

<sup>542</sup> That is, from the east bank of the Hakrá channel, eastwards. See also pages 455 and 479.

<sup>543</sup> It will be noticed that I do not call the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, “the

united with the Hakrá is not so clear, but, shortly after, we find from the earliest 'Arab writers, that four of the five rivers forming the Pañch Nad or Panj Áb flowed within two *farsangs* (six miles) of Multán on the east, and passed from thence southwards towards U'chchh (but which place is not mentioned by that name by the 'Arab writers), which it also passed close by on the west side, and lower down again, three days' journey below Multán, in the direction of Aror or Alor, the ancient capital of Sind, united with the Sind Rád, or Rád-i-Sind wo Hind (the Bihat, Chin-áb, Ráwí, and Bíáh), and formed the Pañch Nad or Panj Áb.<sup>544</sup> Still lower down again, between Baghlah and Şáhib

*Mihrán*," for the reason elsewhere explained. See note 124, page 211, and note 548, page 475.

With respect to crossing the Áb-i-Sind or Indus—the *Aṭak* or Forbidden River—daily by Bráhmans, Wilford (*As. Res.* Vol. VI, p. 536) says: "Those of Multán jocularly say, that its true bed [from constant shiftings] is not ascertained, so they may cross it with impunity."

<sup>544</sup> In ancient times, the Níl Áb, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, took a more direct southerly course after issuing from the hills below Kálá Bágh, and, lower down, ran much closer to Multán. It was subject to changes in its course upwards as much as downwards below that place. Here is an illustration in point, from which we may see what has happened in the course of a very few years in the upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and we may judge what the changes may have been lower down in the course of ages.

In his "Year on the Punjab Frontier," Edwardes says: "The Indus has for many years been gradually taking a more westerly course in its passage to the Sutlej. [He here makes it a tributary of the *Sutlaj*, by which he means what was the *Sutlaj* and Bíáh, but now, since the junction of the two, the Ghárah or Hariári], and nowhere perhaps so markedly as at Esaukheyl [this shows how far north these changes commence]. Year after year it has encroached on the western bank, and in removing from the Sindh Sâgur [Do-ábah, perhaps?] has increased its breadth of *terra firma*. The alluvium thus thrown up has in process of time created on the left, or eastern bank, a low but highly fertile tract called Kuchee [*kachchhí*—this is the word, signifying 'raw,' 'new,' 'recent,' and applied to alluvium. The word occurs in *Kachchh* Bhuj, *Kachchhí* north and west of Jacob-ábád in Sind, *Chhoṭah Kachchh* on the banks of the Hariári or Ghárah, and the term has even extended to the alluvium thrown up on the banks of rivers cultivated by Afgháns on the side of India, 'kats']. At Meeanwallee, the point where you leave the Sindh Sâgur Doab to cross over to Esaukheyl, the alluvial tract just spoken of is about 12 miles broad when the river is at its lowest. In other words, the Indus has already moved 12 miles from that part of the Sindh Sâgur [Do-ábah?]; and though in seasons of its utmost flood the river still reaches its former bank, and permits the villagers on the old high ground to fill pitchers from the waters with which Kuchee [*Kachchhí*] is then overspread, yet, in ordinary times, the original Doab of Sindh Sâgur is now no longer discernable from the ferries of Esaukheyl."

The country of the 'Ísá *Khel* clan of the Níází Afgháns is here meant. More respecting the changes of rivers in this part will be found in my "NOTES ON AF-GHÁNISTÁN," etc., Section Four, particularly at pages 340, 341, 370, 371 and 400.



Garh, about seventy-six miles south-south-west of *U'chchh*, at *Dosh-i-Ab*—*dosh* is a *Tájzík* word signifying 'a place of meeting:' the Waters Meet—this *Panch Nad* united with the *Hakrá* and its tributaries, and formed the *Mihrán* of *Sind*. From thence the great river continued its course in much the same direction as before, for about thirty-six miles more; and then, between *Kandhárah* or *Kandháro* ("Kundairoh" of the maps) and *Wanjh-rút*, just sixty-four miles north-north-east of *Aror*, separated into two channels, one of which, the lesser in volume, passing *Wanjh-rút* a little to the north, flowed more westwards towards *Aror*, which it passed about two miles or less on the east. Rebutted by the rocky range of hills, at the eastern foot of which, and into the plain eastward, where the city lay, it turned to the south, and united with the main river thirty-seven miles lower down. After the separation above noticed, the main stream, keeping more towards the south than before, near the present village of *Sayyidah*, the "Saida" of the maps, was again joined by the other branch from *Aror*. From thence, where the valley opens out considerably, it continued to flow in much the same south-south-westerly direction as before, until at a point forty-eight miles as the crow flies, lower down, where the country becomes almost a dead level towards the south, and also towards the west, it again separated into two channels, the main branch flowing in much the same direction as before, but becoming more tortuous in its course, passed near *Bahman-ábád* or *Báhman-nih* on the east. The other branch turning more towards the west into the flat open tract I have before noticed, passed between *Bahman-ábád* and *Síw-istán*, about mid-way, then bending southwards, and subsequently south-eastwards, re-united with the main river some miles north-east of *Badín*, and fell into the sea by one mouth near *Shákará*, about two days' journey from *Debal* or *Dewal*, the ancient sea-port of *Sind*, on the east, where the river was chiefly known as the *Hakrá*, *Wahind Ságar*, or *Sind-Ságar*, as well as *Mihrán* of *Sind* and *Great Mihrán*.

Subsequent to the conquest of *Sind* and *Multán* by the 'Arabs,<sup>545</sup>

Edwardes continues: "When *Ranjit Singh* first came that way—probably when he went to *Lukkee* in *Murwut*—he opened a way through the jungle [the alluvial tract he mentioned had become covered with a high *jangal* of reeds, tiger grass, and tamarisk] for his army by putting four elephants abreast. \* \* \* In one part of *Esaukheyl* the *Indus* has within the last few years cut off a considerable slice, and made an adjacent island of it. The *zumindars* [*zamíndárs*—landowners] clung to their land with the usual tenacity, and actually established two villages on the island. Occasionally the *Indus* rose and overwhelmed the island, when both colonies took boat and retired to the mother country, *Esaukheyl*, but emigrated again as soon as ever the island re-appeared."

<sup>545</sup> The *Balázari*, who wrote in 270 H (883-84 A.D.), states, that when the

a change came, the first important one to be noted. The Hakrá or Wahindah continued to flow much as before, and to unite into one stream near Sayyadah, just forty miles above Bahman-ábád, the western branch flowing towards the northwards, and then north-west, towards Síw-istán,<sup>546</sup> but somewhat nearer to it than before, then bent south and south-east again to re-unite with the main river, but not so far towards the south as before: at one period falling into the sea near Debal: at another about two days' journey from it eastwards, as it had previously done. At another period it separated into two branches about twelve *míl* (miles) below Manşúriyah—for that had now been built—on the west side, six miles from Bahman-ábád, and from Maḥfúzah on the opposite or east side,<sup>547</sup> and fell into the sea near the town of Shákará, two days' journey east of Debal, by one mouth, and, subsequently, by two, one nearer Debal than before; but the other, known as the mouth of the Great Mihrán, was the Shákará channel separating Kachchh from Sind. At another intermediate period, the distance between the mouth of the Great Mihrán and the port of Debal was but six *míl* (miles): at another, after the junction with the Rá'in branch below Aror near Sayyidah, the river began to flow through the middle of Sind, that is a little more to the westward than before, and with a slower current, spreading out in that part which I have mentioned as almost a dead level westwards and southwards, and forming

'Arab leader, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, advanced from Nírún to operate against Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád, a river ran *east* of Nírún and Síw-istán, parallel or nearly so, to the Mihrán. Muḥammad, having crossed that river, which appears to have been fordable, reached the *west* bank of the Mihrán, and having crossed it to the east side by a bridge of boats, moved towards Bahman-ábád. The first-mentioned river was not the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, but the river called the Kumbh in the Chach Námah, which enters into much greater detail. See the extracts from that work in note 184, page 232, and note 187, page 234.

<sup>546</sup> Mr. R. D. Oldham, in a paper on the subject of the changes in the courses of the Panj-áb Rivers, says, that "It would be impossible for the *Indus* flowing in the Narrá to send a branch past Hermetelia or Brahman-ábád [only it is not *Brahman-ábád*, but Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih] unless water was gifted with the power of flowing up-hill in the time of Alexander the Great," etc.

As the bed of the Hakrá lies much higher than Bahman-ábád all the way down from Kháu Garh and Khair-púr Dehr ke, and lower than its western branch, which passed Aror on the east, in which the overflow waters from the river Indus as it now flows find their way, there would be no necessity whatever for water to "flow up-hill," and which the Mitraho Canal does not do. At the period in question, where the Hakrá or Mihrán of Sind separated into two branches, some forty miles above Bahman-ábád and Manşúriyah, the country was almost a dead level, especially from east to west, but inclined slightly towards the south.

<sup>547</sup> The Balázari states, that Manşúriyah was founded on one side of the estuary or lake facing Hind, and Maḥfúzah on the opposite side. See note 553, page 477.



several islands, until it reached Maṣúriyah; while, lower down, it united and formed one great river. One writer states, that at this period, between the country of Mukrán, that is from the Kahtar range west of Síw-istán (Karáchí, it may be noticed, was considered, down almost to the present century, to belong to Mukrán) and Maṣúriyah, the waters of the Mihrán of Sind formed great lakes, one of which, without doubt, is the existing Lake Maṣḥar.

At this period the place of junction of the Wihat, Bihat, or Jihlam with the Chin-áb was about midway between Chandaní-oṭ, now in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and Sá'e-Wál in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, in about 31° 51' N. Lat., and 72° 28' E. Long. In their downward progress the united rivers, under the name of Chin-áb, passed from some four to fourteen miles (according to the shifting of their courses from time to time from east to west and back again, from one side to the other of the broad tract seamed with its channels), and from four to eight miles east of Jhang-i-Siálán. On the other hand, the Ráwah or Ráwí, which also flowed, at different periods, from one side to the other of a tract of country, in some parts from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth: at times on one side, at times on the other, and taking a more south-easterly course than at present, about eight miles east of Sath Garh, about the same distance east of Hurappahí, and five miles east of Tulanbah, united with the Chin-áb within a few miles of Multán on the east, the district immediately adjoining the city on that side being still known as Taraf-i-Ráwí, or the Ráwí Side or Quarter, to this day.

These three united rivers, known as the Trim Áo or Trim Áb, then flowing in a direction a little to the west of south, united with the Bíáh about twenty-eight miles lower down than Multán, and formed what the Arab writers name the Sind Rúd, or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind,<sup>543</sup> which the

<sup>543</sup> Al-Mas'údí, who wrote in 300 H. (941-42 A.D.), says, that the river Mihrán of Sind [See note 543, page 471] flows on towards Multán and *beyond*, and receives the name of Mihrán. \* \* \* Another of the five rivers which go to form the Mihrán of Sind is called Háṭil [See page 207]. When all have passed Multán they unite about three days' journey below the city of Multán, and above Maṣúriyah, and unite into one stream at Dosh-i-áb [with the Hakrá or Wahindah], which flows towards Aldor or Alror, which lies on its *west* bank, and belongs to Maṣúriyah, where [at Dosh-i-Ab] it receives the name of Mihrán. \* \* \* The Mihrán goes to Maṣúriyah." See note 124, page 211.

If the ancient capital of Sind is here referred to under the name of Aldor or Alror, as it seems to be, it was within the limits of the tract dependent on Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, which territory was afterwards known as Maṣúriyah.

Al-Mas'údí, it will be observed, does not notice any third great river. The Istakharí also states, that "the Sind Rúd, is about three stages from Multán, and that its waters are pleasant before it unites with the Mihrán," and does not refer

Istakharí says is three stages from Multán, and that its waters are sweet before it unites with the Mihrán, here referring to the *Ab-i-Sind*, by some also called the *Nahr-i-Mihrán*. This *Sind Rúd* then taking a course a little more to the south-south-west than before, flowed near by *Uchchh* on the east side, Multán and that place being then in the *Sind-Ságar Do-ábah*, and united with the *Sindhu*, *Ab-i-Sind*, *Níl Ab*, or *Indus*, which, up to this period, kept a more direct southerly course<sup>549</sup> after issuing from the hilly tracts near *Kálá* or *Ḳará Bágh*, down to the vicinity of Multán and *Uchchh*; and the united five rivers then constituted the *Panch Nad* or *Panj Ab*. Continuing to flow much in the same direction as before, and passing close to, and between *Ghaus-púr*, *Jachch-Wá-han*, and *Ma'ú*, and east of *Bhatí Wá-han*, *Síw-rá'í*, and *Mír-púr*<sup>550</sup> — by the old channel, now the great depression, by which, at the present time, the *Nárah*, so called, receives part of its waters — this *Panch Nad* or *Panj Ab* united with the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah* at *Dosh-i-Ab*, much as it had hitherto done. By degrees, however, through the erratic changes in the course of the *Sutlaj*, which had hitherto flowed in the easternmost channel that we know of, west of *Chamkaur* and *Bhatindah*, and whose previous junction with the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah*, consisting of the *Ghag-ghar* and its tributaries, including the *Sursutí* and the *Chitang*, took place near *Walh-har*, but which now began to incline towards the west and form a new channel for itself, the junction of the *Sindhu*, *Ab-i-Sind*, or *Indus* with the *Hakrá* began to take place a little lower down, between *Sáhib Garh* and *Kandhára* or *Kandháro*, but nearer to the former.

This junction, as previously noticed in the account of the state of the rivers about the time of the 'Arab conquest, of the *Sindhu*, *Ab-i-Sind*, or *Indus*, the *Jand Rúd*, and the *Hakrá* (the three great rivers mentioned in the *Masálik wa Mamálik*, and by *Ibn Hauḳal*) did not long continue, but, as before, again separated into two streams or branches, but to flow much in the same directions as before, the westernmost one, the *Rá'in* or *Rá'íní*, towards *Aror*, and the main one towards the place of junction farther south near where *Sayyidah* now stands. At this period these branches of the great river were navigable for vessels, or rather large boats, from the ocean upwards beyond *Aror*, *Uchchh*, and *Multán*, and the tradition of the *Musalmán* merchant, *Saif-ul-Mulúk* tends to confirm it.

Below *Sayyidah* the course of the great river, the *Mihrán of Sind*, to a third great river, but this fact does not show that it did not exist. It is, however, distinctly mentioned soon after, as will presently be shown.

<sup>549</sup> See page 301.

<sup>550</sup> See page 488.



as it was called below Aror,<sup>551</sup> was much as before described. It again separated into two main branches between thirty-nine and forty miles above Bahman-ábád and Manşúriyah, encircling a large portion of its territory, and again united below those places, flowed towards Wángah, and discharged its waters into the sea by the Shákará channel and the Kohrá'í inlet or estuary,<sup>552</sup> then, not far from the town of Badín, of the present day. When in flood, such redundant water as could not pass readily into the sea by the ordinary channel, spread out, and along with the overflow from other rivers farther east, including the Loní, from Sanskrit *lon*—salt—the “Loonee” and “Loony” of the maps,<sup>553</sup>

<sup>551</sup> According to the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí*, but see preceding note 548, page 475, and note 304, page 305.

<sup>552</sup> See note 168, page 223.

<sup>553</sup> Tod, in the map to his “Rajast’han,” actually makes the lower part of the Hakrá close to its junction with the sea, to be the Loony R., and places it a long way west of Lakh-Paṭ and west of the *Ran*; whereas the Loní flowed into the *Ran*, or was lost in it at its eastern extremity. Here, doubtless, was the “Loni Bari ost” of Ptolemy.

The writer on the “Lost River,” in the “Calcutta Review” (p. 18.), makes “the embouchure of the *Indus*, *Sutlej*, and the Luni form the *rann* of Kach”; and adds, that, “all traditions of tribes bordering thereon, say that it was anciently an estuary.” In another place he makes it, the “estuary of the *Sutlej*” only.

It certainly was an estuary, but of the Hakrá, Sind-Ságar, or Great Mihrán of Sind, of which the *Sutlaj*, four degrees farther north, as well as the *Ab-i-Sind* or *Indus*, which thereabouts united with the Hakrá, were tributaries.

The same writer recognizes this estuary at the mouth of the Hakrá as “Arrian’s great *lake*, at the mouth of the eastern arm of the *Indus*”; also that it is “the lake of *Ságara* in which according to the *Chuch Náma* the fleet of Muhammad Kasim lay”; also “the lake *Ash Sharki* upon which *Al-Biladuri* says the fleet of Jaishya son of *Dahir*, king of *Sind*, was destroyed by the Arab army under *Junaid*.” This is from *Elliot*.

The *Samarah* lake west of *Amar Koṭ* is more probably the remains of that lake or very near it, since changed, and the “estuary” led to it.

See page 67, where the naval battle is mentioned by the *Balázari*, and note 530, page 461, also note 534, page 465.

*Wilford*, who possessed a vast deal of information respecting these parts, though some of it is speculative and the names generally written from ear only, says: (As. Res. 6—225) The *Sigertis* of the Greeks is from *Hindee Seher Des*, the country of *Seher* or *Sehr*. \* \* \* *Lehri* or *Lehráhi bunder* so called because it is in the country of *Lehreh* [*Lár*], while another part, on the eastern branch is called *Sehrí* or *Sehráhi-bunder*, from the same cause [that is in the country of *Sehr*], but now is always called *Bustah-bunder*. Its entrance is broad. \* \* \* A salt water lake or bay was called *Saronis* by the *Greeks*, and *Eirinos* by *ARRIAN* in the *Periplus*. \* \* \* This lake communicates with the sea through two mouths, the largest of which is close to *Bustah-bunder*. The other to the east is small. East of it is *Lacput Bundur* in *Cach’ha* [*Sauráshṭra* or *Soraṭh* commences at *Lakh-paṭ*]. It owes its origin to king *LAC-PATI*, the grandfather of the present *Raja of Cach’ha*.”

contributed to form the great *ran* or marsh between Kachchh and Sind, which previously had been a broad estuary, bay, or inlet of the ocean, but which now had begun to fill up.

It must not be supposed that this great river and its tributaries kept to a single channel only in their courses through alluvial tracts of country. There were, no doubt, then as now, in all the rivers, minor channels branching off on either side at greater or lesser distances, and flowing for greater or lesser distances, again to unite with the main channel, and again to branch off. What I have described here are the general courses of the main rivers.

Up to this period (about 335 H. = 946 A.D.) Rúrhí and Bakhar, now on the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, were unknown: there is no record in history of their existence; for, up to this time, no water from the Mihrán of Sind, the united Hakrá, Sind Rúd, and Ab-i-Sind or Indus, passed near their sites. The waters from the eastern and southern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán on the west, and from the Harú and Suhán rivers on the east, as far down as Rúján, flowed to the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus; while such streams as the Nári and Lehrí, coming from the range of Mihtar Sulímán and the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, bounding the Afghán state (or what recently belonged to the Afghán state, and on that account christened “British Balochistan” probably) on the south, and those from the north-west, namely, the Bolán river, and the Ghár or Gháj, (some of which appear to have contained a greater volume of water than in after years), flowing southwards by Khairo Garhí, and Shadád-púr, must have fallen into the channel called in our maps the Western Narra; and these waters in some parts, evidently, formed the lakes, previously referred to, between Mukrán and the territory of Manşúriyah, including the Lake Manchhar, in which the waters collected.<sup>554</sup> From this lake they again issued by an outlet

Tod (Vol. I., p. 17) says, with respect to “Eirinos,” that, the word is a corruption of Run or Rin; and in a note says, “Most probably a corruption of ‘*aranya*’ a desert; and so the Greek mode of writing is more correct than the present.” This is a wonderful statement, truly.

<sup>554</sup> It is strange that, in the detailed account of the operations of the ‘Arab commander, Muhammad, against Síw-istán, contained in the Chach Námah, there is no mention whatever of any lake near it, although another is mentioned lower down stream. All that is said is, that, “in former times the Ab-i-Sind did not flow on or from the north side of that place,” but that it did at the time of the ‘Arab who is relating the circumstance. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us (363 A.D.), that, in that part of Gedrosia which on its right touches the frontier of India, are several rivers of which the greatest is the Artabius, and that there, “the Barbitani mountains end, and from their lowest parts rise several rivers which fall into the Indus, losing their own names in the greatness of that superior stream.” See note 185, page 233, and page 475.



running in the direction of about south-south-east to the tract in which Naşr-púr<sup>555</sup> was afterwards founded, and flowing from thence, by some of the channels the remains of which still exist in that direction, towards Wángah, they united with the Puránah channel.<sup>556</sup> Subsequently, perhaps, they found their way by forming a new channel lower down, the Gúni channel of the present time, or a still older one, and fell into the sea by the Kohrá'í inlet, along with the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá.

This was the state of the rivers forming the Great Mihrán, or Mihrán of Sind, at the time of, and for about two hundred and thirty or forty years after, the conquest of Sind, when the Istakharí wrote, and for a short time after the “Masálik wa Mamálik” was written, and Ibn Hauḳal came into Sind and obtained the materials for his “Ashḳál-

The Bolán river during the past year (1890-91) has given proof of what it had previously been. I stated in my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” that it was liable to become greatly flooded, when it swept every thing before it. This was sometime before a line of Railway was thought of; and during this last year, the correctness of my statement has been fully proved, and at a great cost to the State. I hope I shall not, from this fact “hurt any one’s susceptibilities,” which is the most important thing, it appears, after all, to be thought of in these days, but only persons who make mistakes are supposed to possess any “susceptibilities.”

<sup>555</sup> In the Noh-shahrah district of the Haidar-ábád Collectorate of Sind as at present constituted. The Tuḥfat-ul-Kiráam says it was founded “on the banks of the *Ab-i-Sind*” by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk sovereign of Dihlí; and that he also built a fort near Naşir-púr, which was called by the latter name, on the banks of the *Sankarah* [the Hakrá or Wahindah], on his way from Guzarát against Ṭhaṭhah, when the Jáms were reduced to subjection.” Consequently, Naşrpúr and Naşir-púr are totally distinct places, and far apart from each other.

Postans (“Personal Observations on Sindh,” p. 161) says, that “Nasirpúr [Naşr-púr is the correct name] is alluded to by geographers as one of the most beautiful cities of Sindh; but it declined in consequence of the desertion of the main stream. The learned D’Anville considers this to be the Mansúra of the Arabs, and a city of great importance.” See note 173, page 224.

<sup>556</sup> The writer in the “Calcutta Review” calls the eastern branch of the “Indus” the “Dhora Pura, which meets the Narra,” but, in this case where did the Puránah *Dhorah* come from if not from the Hakrá?

Seven paragraphs after, the same writer says, that “although much inferior in size to the Indus, the Hakra must have been of vast importance,” etc. It will be seen from this that he confuses the Hakrá with the afterwards formed, and modern Nárah, the origin of which has been shown, and *vice versa*, and does not appear to have known that the *Ab-i-Sind* or Indus, at the period mentioned in the text above, was a mere tributary of the Hakrá, which was a great river — the Great Mihrán as it is called by the 'Arab writers. There is no authority, I believe, in history, to show that the Indus was so great a river as the Hakrá, in those early days.

ul-Bilád. But long before Bú-Rihán-al-Berúní finished his “*Tahkík-ul-Hind*”<sup>557</sup> (about 422 H. = 1030-31 A.D.), a great change had taken place, although not so much as he, or rather Rashíd-ud-Dín, who quotes him, would lead us to believe. Be this as it may, the statement, that “the river Bihat and the Chandrá [Chin-áb] flow *west* of Multán,” and that all five rivers, *viz.*, Áb-i-Sind or Indus, Bihat, Chin-áb, Bíáh, and Iráwah or Ráwí, thus reversing facts, “unite with the Sutladr or Sutlaj below Multán at a *place* [sic] called Panch Nad—which for a *place* is an impossible name—is incorrect. It is clearly shown from various statements in history, that the Sutlaj continued for a long period after his time, and subsequent to the investment of Uchchh two centuries after, to be a tributary of the Hakrá, at the time that the Panch Nad or Five Rivers used to unite with the Hakrá, at Dosh-i-Áb.”<sup>558</sup>

The second transition was when the course of the western branch of the Mihrán or Hakrá, with which all the other tributaries had previously united, namely the Rá'in branch, or the branch which flowed in the Rá'in or Rá'iní channel, was diverted, by whatever means accomplished, and directed more to the westward from near Kandhára or Kandháro, and cut a new channel for itself much farther to the westward than the gap in the lime-stone hills where Bakhar and Rúrhí were afterwards founded. I say much farther westwards, because, if it had only been diverted into about its present course, Alor or Aror need not

<sup>557</sup> Always mistaken for “*Tárikh-ul-Hind*,” even by its translator. See note 79 page 186.

<sup>558</sup> The only other construction that can be put on this statement is, that by the Sutlaj he meant the Hakrá or Wahindah, with which the Sutlaj united some miles lower down than the Panch Nad, for the Hakrá or Wahindah is never mentioned by Bú-Rihán separately. If this assumption is correct his place called Panch Nad, would refer to the Dosh-i-Áb.

The Istakhari, who visited Sind and Multán about the period that the diversion of the branch of the Hakrá is supposed to have taken place, says: “there is a river of Sind called the Mihrán. It passes the borders of Samand [سند of the old 'Arab map] and Aror from the neighbourhood of Multán, and then flows on to Mansúriyah,” etc. He says nothing of any recent change, which he could not have failed to have heard of had it occurred before his time, causing, as it did, the ruin of the ancient capital, and other vast changes. It is evident, therefore, that this diversion of the river took place subsequent to his travels in this part. The inscription, and the date contained therein, in the shrine of Khwajah ká Thán near Bakhar, noticed farther on, does not refer to the date the stream was diverted westwards, but to the period, when the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, being joined by the Sind Rúd or Panch Nad, which had deserted the Hakrá, gained fresh power, and found its way into the channel of the diverted branch of the Hakrá, and then, changing its course, began to cut its way through a depression in the lime-stone hills near where Rúrhí and Bakhar were afterwards founded.



have gone to ruin in consequence; for then, instead of the river flowing about a mile or mile and a half *east* of that city, *if we go by the present channel of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus*, it had only left it to pass four miles and a half on its west; for the river is now only six miles from the ancient channel, and water could have been conducted to it without difficulty.<sup>559</sup> There can be no doubt, therefore, that the diverted channel must have taken a course much farther west of Aror than at present, and probably ran towards the depression called the Sind Hollow,<sup>560</sup> or certainly into some other channel to the north and west of where Shikár-púr now stands, before it bent towards the south again, and entered the then channel of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, between Rurhí and Sihwán of the present day.<sup>561</sup>

<sup>559</sup> After the branch of the river had been diverted, according to the tradition, Dilú Rá'e directed his people to turn the river into its old channel, but it could not be done. If the face of the country had been then as now, and the river as close as at present, this could easily have been effected—and, in fact, it has recently been done—for now the bed of the Indus is twenty feet higher than the bed of the old river. See following note 562.

<sup>560</sup> Hughes, in his "Gazetteer of Sind" says (p. 770): "The Jacobabad and Briggs wah canals in Kashmor taluka were formerly used chiefly to fill what is called "the Sind Hollow," an old bed of the Indus traversing the Kashmor and Thul talukas. \* \* \* They are now closed up. The tract between the Sind Hollow and the river Indus is much cut up with *dhand*s (flood hollows) and *dhoros* (old river channels)." See the extract from Dr. Kennedy's work given in note 311, page 311.

<sup>561</sup> See page 457. A short time after the Istakharí's account, just referred to, we find the Masálik wa Mamálik giving the names of three great rivers, the Mihrán, the Sind Rúd, that is what was also called the Panch Nad, three days' journey from Multán, and the Jand Rúd or Samand Rúd, which that work states united with the Mihrán Rúd, that is the Ab-i-Sind (see notes 304, page 305, and 548, page 475), below the junction of the Sind Rúd; and that Basmid or Samid, Jandúr, and Multán, are all on the *east* side of the Rúd-i-Multán, which Ibn Hauḳal calls the Mihrán Rúd (the Ab-i-Sind), and all three places are said to be each one *farsakh* or league from the river Mihrán (the Ab-i-Sind). Ibn Hauḳal says more, namely, that the junction of the Mihrán Rúd (Ab-i-Sind) and Sind Rúd (Panch Nad) takes place below Multán and *above* Basmid, and yet, soon after says, that Basmid has two walls, one on each side of the Mihrán (Ab-i-Sind), from which, just before he said it was a *farsakh* distant. I believe Ghaus-púr to stand on or near the site of Basmid.

Bú-Rihán, whose account follows the above-mentioned works after an interval of between eighty and ninety years—he finished his work in 422 H. (1031 A.D.), but he never passed farther east or south than Láhor and Multán—says, that "Aror or Aror is situated on the Mihrán, which passes on the *west* of that town." If this is correct, it shows that when he wrote, the western branch of the Hakrá had then been diverted from Aror, for before that event happened, the river passed it on the *east*. The word 'west,' I may mention, is not contained in the recently printed text of Bú-Rihán's work.

Whether the tradition respecting the Musalmán merchant, Saif-ul-Mulúk, and his causing the diversion of the river from near Aror, be true or not — but I believe all traditions contain more or less truth — it is certain that, after all, it was not such a difficult task to accomplish ;<sup>562</sup> and, in connexion with this tradition, we have the place of abode of the merchant, and the tombs of his two sons still pointed out near Multán, and they are still existing, or were so, at least, in the last century. Another curious coincidence, which does not appear to have been taken into consideration along with this tradition and the existence of these tombs is, that the supposed remains of the dyke raised by the Musalmán merchant, or a dyke remaining at the very same place, was existing a few years ago,<sup>563</sup> the situation of which lay about twenty-six miles east

<sup>562</sup> Referring to the danger of diverting the course of the Indus, by cutting the canal noticed under, Captain W. Baker, Superintendent of Canals in Sind, wrote, that “there would be reason for apprehension lest the channel of supply, excavated as it would be through a soft soil, should be so widened and deepened by the action of the torrent as to drain off more water than could be spared from the Indus, or, perhaps, transfer the main stream of the river, with its fertilizing effects, *from its present to one of its ancient channels.* \* \* \* There is no permanency in the bed of the Indus, which is always cutting one or other of its banks and throwing up shoals on the opposite one.”

Lieut.-Colonel W. Scott, the Superintending Engineer, also wrote : “At present the water is mere overflow, and runs so gently over the surface as to cause no danger, but let a body of water, 10 or 12 feet deep, pass through the same country, even if the ground was hard below (which it is not—it is merely hour-glass sand) and I should certainly expect the cut to increase far beyond our power of control. “See” Report on the Eastern Narra,” pages 4 and 27.

<sup>563</sup> About the same time, the then Collector of Haidar-ábád, in a letter dated 31st October, 1850, wrote to the Commissioner of Sind on the existence of a *band* or dyke which prevented the water from entering the lower part of the channel, and at the same time submitted a sketch of the country, where the *band* was said to exist, by a native of Sind, who was formerly a revenue official under Mír Şúb-dár, one of the Amírs of Sind, and respecting which, the Collector, Captain Rathbone, observed that it was “perfectly accurate after the fashion that all native papers of the kind are, totally destitute of all proportion.” He continues : “It appears from this, and the report of my informant, that the Narra branches off from the Indus near the village of Ghosepoor [*Ghaus-púr*] which is built on the site of an ancient city [*Basmid* of the old writers], and lies in the territory of Bhawal Khan. *The bed of the Narra is said there to be in places a hundred and twenty miles broad.*”

The Collector of *Shikár-púr*, however, after examining what was considered the right locality, wrote, that the *band* or dyke referred to by Captain Rathbone lay close to the village of Birha, and that it was formed of earth and brushwood closely rammed together, 600 feet in length, 38 feet broad at the top, and with a height of 22 feet, the highest water mark in its rear being 15 feet, and the breadth of the ravine [old channel ?] below the *band*, about 200 feet. “I could discover,” he says,



of Aror, and about eight miles north-west of the Rá'in channel, the "Rainee N." of the maps, and twenty miles in the same direction from the old channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, close to Mitharo or Mitraho, and about fifty-four miles below the point where, as I have previously described, the Hakrá separated into two channels after having, farther up stream, been joined by the tributaries constituting the Panch Nad or Five Rivers. The "island" mentioned to the Collector of Haidar-ábád by the native Revenue official, refers to the tongue of land which now exists, but greatly changed in the course of years, lying between the two channels entered in the Indian Atlas map as the "Ghoorelehwah" [Ghúrí ke Wá-hah?—The connection of this vitiated name with that of Faṭh Muḥammad, Ghúrí, of the native official, will be noticed], and the "Rainee N." The first branches off a little north of "Retee" [*retí*—'sand'] of the map, and passes east of Khair-púr Dehṛ ke; and the second branches off a little north of Wanjh-rút, the "Winjrote" of the same map, which it passes on the west, both channels running about south-south-west, and the tongue of land in question lies between. Two miles east of this latter channel, the main channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, mis-called, "the old bed of the River Wundun" in the same map, branches off.

The native official likewise stated, as reported by the Collector of Haidar-ábád, that "*the bed of the Narra*," as he called it, at Ghaus-púr in

"no *band* one *koss* long and with a breadth of 40 *guz*, as described by the Collector of Haidarabad. \* \* \* In the first place, the waters, a portion of which the *band* confines, are those of the Gotekee or minor *leht*, and it in no way interferes with the flow of the Ahmedpoor or principal one, which used to find its ingress into the Narra chiefly by the Rainee channel," etc. He then adds, that "the causes of obstruction to the Khoonum Leht [*Kohan*, old; *leṭ*, 'overflow' or 'flood'] from Ahmedpoor, I am credibly informed, lie in the construction along the banks of the Indus, within Bhawul Khan's territory, of extensive embankments, whereby the Khoonum Leht is prevented from encroaching into the adjacent tracts," etc., etc.

The *band* near Bihra [Bhírá], however, was not considered to be the one referred to by the native revenue official; for the Commissioner of Sind subsequently wrote, that "it is still doubtful whether the obstruction is an artificial *band*, or a change in the course of the Indus."

Here they were, so to say, all right, and yet all wrong. The *band* referred to by the native official was situated about twenty miles farther east than Bhírá, as described above. The "Khoonum Leht," here mentioned, flowed for some distance in the depression which was once the channel of the Panch Nad when it united with the Hakrá at Dosh-i-Ab, but altered in the course of ages of inundations.

I here append a facsimile of the map or sketch of the native official, with a correct tracing of the country he refers to from actual survey, from which it will be seen that, barring his drawing, it is correct as to the bed of the Hakrá and Panch Nad near Ghaus-púr, and the direction in which the *band* was said to lie.

the Baháwal-púr territory (thirteen miles south-south-east of Miṭhan Kot, and about forty-one south-west of U<sub>ch</sub>chh) was, “*in places, about a hundred and twenty miles broad,*” and, that “*in that part the name it is known by is “Toorkuree,” only taking “the name of Narra much lower down.*” Now it will be seen from my general map No. 1, and confirmed by the one-inch to the mile Survey map of the Baháwal-púr state, that a vast tract of country extending from G<sub>h</sub>aus-púr, above mentioned, to near Birsil-púr east-south-east, one hundred and ten miles in breadth, and about one hundred and forty in length, is literally seamed with banks and channels showing the action of the Panch Nad (including the Ab-i-Sind or Indus) and the Hakrá, at different times, in effecting their junction; and the subsequent changes in the channel of the latter, caused after, or about the time, of their final separation, and through changes brought about by the Sutlaj betaking itself to a new channel, which caused a change in its place of junction with the Hakrá.

From all that has been adduced, it is evident that a *band* or dyke had been in existence in the locality indicated from by-gone times, and repaired or renewed from time to time as required; and the situation ascribed to it quite agrees with the traditionary account.<sup>564</sup>

<sup>564</sup> It will be well to give the traditions respecting the diversion of this branch of the river by means of a *band* or dyke, as I have not related it in the separate notice of the river.

“Saif-ul-Mulúk is the name of a great and rich Musalmán merchant, who in the early part of the fourth century of the Hījrat brought about the ruin of Alor. The tract of country then dependent on it, was ruled by a Rájah—for the power of the Musalmáns had waxed weak in these parts at that time—who was called Dilú Rá'e, who was a great tyrant, and deflowerer of maidens. The merchant arrived near Alor with his merchandize, which was of great value, laden in vessels on the river which was then navigable from a great distance upwards, down to the great ocean (Muḥammad, son of Kásim, gave directions respecting the navigation. See note 189, page 243); and he had also along with him a beautiful hand-maid named Badi'-ul-Jamál. Not content with plundering the merchant of a considerable portion of his goods, the Rájah also demanded that the hand-maid should be given up to him. Finding what a tyrant he had to deal with, the merchant resolved, with God's help, to make a bold endeavour to escape from him. He asked to be allowed three days' grace—some say eight days—after which he would comply with the demands made upon him, and deliver up the damsel. In the meantime, by means of his wealth, having got together a number of artizans and numerous labourers, he set to work day and night to raise a great *band* or dyke, up stream, above Alor, and by making a new channel, to divert the waters of the Hakrá or Wahind farther westwards towards Bakhar [it does not mean from this that Bakhar was then in existence, but to the place where it was afterwards founded as may be seen from the reference to Síw-istán. Perhaps the merchant, who was a dweller not far from the confluence of some of the principal rivers, had witnessed how easily a change might be effected in such a level tract of silt and sand]. This diversion



Burton ("Scinde:" Vol. I, p. 202), who saw a good deal of Sind when employed in the Survey, says, "the province is a sloping surface

he effected; and on awaking in the morning of the day on which the days of grace expired, instead of a broad and deep river running near Alor, what did the tyrant discover, but its bed full of mud, and some muddy water. The river had left it, and was running towards Síw-istán and the Lakhí mountains, and the merchant and his vessels had been wafted thereon far beyond his reach, and Alor ruined.

The diverted river, lower down, betaking itself to the nearest depression, got, in all probability, into the channel of the Kumbh of the Chach Námah.

According to another slightly different version, the merchant was on his way to Makkah; and after his return from thence, by another route, he took up his residence near the *kaşbah* of Rattá, which is said to have been at one time a great city, and there he was buried. It is added, that, by this hand-maid, Badi'-ul-Jamál, he had two sons, one Rattá, the other Mattá, and that the tombs of all three are at this place, known as Rattá-Mattá to this day, after his two sons.

The Tárikh-i-Táhirí contains this tradition with a slight variation. It says: "Below the city of Alor, or Aror [that is, that the city stood higher than the river, which was at a little distance from it on the east] the river constituting the Panj Ab flowed, which is likewise called Hakrá, Wahindah, and Wahán, indiscriminately, which sends its waters into the great sea. Dilú Rá'e governed the territory between Alor and Muḥammad Túr, \* \* \* From the merchants who brought their merchandize by the river from Hind, on their way to the port of Dewal, he levied one half as toll." Then the demand is made by the Rájah for the possession of the merchant's hand-maid; and the merchant obtains three days' grace, and the author continues: "During this period he collected a number of skilled men, who, in the piercing of mountains, exceeded the renowned Farhád, and were able to close a breach in a rampart like that of the Sadd-i-Sikandar (or Alexander's Wall). He bestowed on these men whatever they desired, gold, gems, valuable cloths, and the like, his object being to throw up a strong embankment on the river above Alor, and divert the waters in the direction of Bakhar. Night after night these strong workmen laboured to excavate a fresh channel and throw up an embankment, and thereby turned the river aside towards Sihwán and the Lakhí Hills, and with such force, that the merchant, through God's mercy, was speedily carried away beyond the reach of the tyrannical Rájah." The latter is said to have commanded his people to turn the river back again into its old channel, but was told by all, that now that the water had flowed elsewhere, it could not be done. It did not strike them possibly to remove the *band* or dyke, but, perhaps that would then have been useless, the river having cut a new channel for itself.

I may mention here that this tradition is universal in these parts up to the present time; and, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, descendants of this very merchant are represented as being then living. After Bakhar and its dependencies, in 982 H. (1574-75 A.D.), fell into the possession of the Bádsháh, after the death of Sultán Maḥmúd Khán (who held it independently after the fall of the Arghún power in Sind), consequent on the disputes which had arisen between the officials sent from the court to take possession, "it was determined in 983 H. (1575-76 A.D.) to make the Nawwáb, Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, *jágír-dár* of Bakhar; and, in the first month of that year, Muḥammad Táhir Khán, son of Sháh Muḥammad, a descendant

of silt and sand, through which the Indus cuts its varying way with a facility that passes description. *The erection of even a few feet of brickwork built up in the bed of the Indus as it still flows, might divert the stream into another channel, cause the decline and downfall of a metropolis and twenty towns, convert a region of gardens into a silt*

*of Saif-ul-Mulúk, and two other officers, on the part of Tarsún Muḥammad Khán, entered Rúrhí, and sent a copy of the imperial mandate to Kísú Khán, then holding the government, and residing in the fort of Bakhar.*" It appears that Tarsún Muḥammad had subsequently left Muḥammad Táhír in charge, because, when Tarsún Muḥammad Khán came to Nág-awr, where the Bádsháh then was, when he was subsequently dismissed to proceed to Bakhar, some of the ministers of the Bádsháh represented, that "it was not expedient that a descendant of Saif-ul-Mulúk should be left in charge of a frontier province."

Rattá or Rattá-Mattá is described at the close of the last century, in the Survey record I have been quoting herein, as "a large *kaṣbah* or market-town three *kuroh* (a little over five miles) north-wards of Jaṭú-í (which was the chief town of one of the twelve *mahálls* or sub-districts of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *śubáh* in the time of Akbar Bádsháh), and here is the tomb and shrine of Saif-ul-Mulúk, who is famous among all people."

According to the tradition, it is predicted that the Hakrá is to burst the *band* or dyke of Saif-ul-Mulúk, become a perennial river once more, and empty itself into the sea. Burton, in his humorous relation of the legend of the "Seven Headless Prophets," in his work on "Scinde," gives the prophecy as follows:—

"Dyke of Aror be burst, and flow  
Hakro perennial to the main :  
Swim ye fish, ye lillies grow  
Where Sammahs plough the sultry plain."

He adds: "Now the bund or embankment of Aror had, hundreds of years before the time of Jam Tamachi [third of the Sammah Jáms of Sind], been thrown across the Indus [he is mistaken here: the *band* was across the Hakrá, as the verse mentions] by the masonic prowess of an honourable husband," etc., etc.

The same prophecy appears, as related by a devotee of the "Mamoi" sept, in the "Gazetter of Sind," but was not properly understood. It is:—

"When broken shall be the bandh of Aror,  
And the water shall flow over Hakrah,  
Where will be the fishing of the Sammah?"

This does not apply to any village called "Hakrah," but to the river, thus:—  
"The *band* or embankment of Aror shall be broken, and the water shall flow [once more] in the channel of the Hakrá; and then where will the Sammahs' fishing be?"  
Meaning that it would be spoiled.

I am unaware whether the two stones set up by Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar in the bed of the diverted branch of the river, are still in existence, or whether, if they are, any inscription is legible; for he is said to have cut an inscription on them. If we could find an inscription we might obtain further information on this interesting subject. See also note 517, page 452.



desert, and transfer plenty and population to what a month before was a glaring waste. As regards the ancient course of the Lower Indus infinite has been the speculation, the theorization, the dissertation, the argument, and the contradiction upon this much vexed subject. But listen to the voice of reason, as proceeding from one Dr. Lord," etc., etc. See Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," also the statement of the Greek, Aristobulus, quoted at pages 469 and 470.

Postans, too, in his "Personal Observations on Sindh," says (page 18) respecting the Indus: "At Sakkur, Rovi, below Hyderabad, and at Jerruk, rocky barriers interrupt on the western bank its progress at those particular spots, but elsewhere it has full liberty to choose its constantly changing course, *through an under soil so light and friable, that it cannot withstand the action of such a mighty rush of water even for one hour.* \* \* \* The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery."

Such I have myself heard many times, as all must have who have passed up and down the great river. I have often in the course of a single day, seen many acres of land, trees and all, suddenly fall into the river with a great roar, and such I have witnessed several times in one and the same day.

It is very certain that what the merchant is said to have done in ancient times, would, if now carried out, be sufficient to divert the course of the present Indus, consequently, the feat ascribed to Saif-ul-Mulúk, with the means of paying for the labour, say, of a thousand men during the space of three days and nights, was not impracticable. To have commenced the excavation of a new channel above Aror, and to have erected an embankment with the earth excavated, strengthened with brushwood, and the like, was as feasible then as now. The portion of a new channel once opened, the river, on being let into it, would soon cut a channel for itself, or take to the first depression it met with in its course; and, in this instance, it made its way some distance to the westward of the lime-stone hills at first, and, subsequently, near to them, but still to the westward of where Rurhí and Bakhar were subsequently founded, namely a little west of Sakhar of modern days. In course of time, the Panj Ab or Panch Nad having ceased to be a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah at Dosh-i-Áb, in inclining westwards lower down, got into the channel of the diverted or Rá'in branch of the Hakrá; while the main river itself, through the loss of the Sind Rúd or Panj Ab or Panch Nad, was not able to supply it, or to a very small degree; and when the Hakrá subsequently ceased to be a perennial stream, the Rá'in, or diverted branch of that river, only received

water from the overflow of this newly-founded Panch Nad from the direction of Ghaus-púr.<sup>565</sup> The Panch Nad having thus got into the lower part of the diverted Rá'in channel, soon enlarged it, and inclining towards a gap in the lime-stone range, flowed through it between the high ground on the east on which Rúrhí was afterwards built, and the peninsula on which the town and fortress of Bakhar were founded. Neither of these two places were known, or ever referred to, in history in the time of the Turk Sultáns of Ghaznih. Máthilah<sup>566</sup> (the Máthilo

<sup>565</sup> See note 581, page 503.

<sup>566</sup> Máthilah or Máthilo was one of the twelve *mahálls* of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the Multán *shúbah*, and the place here mentioned was its chief town. This was one of the six fortresses of Sind, mentioned elsewhere, standing on mounds, the heights or extent of which mounds were increased in the reign preceding that of Chach. It is now a small town on an eminence; and in the neighbourhood are, or were, the remains of many ancient buildings, and groves of enormous *pípal* trees, called in the Panj-áb territory, *bohar*—the *ficus religiosa* of botanists. See note page 246.

Another of these six fortresses was Síw-rá'í or Síw-rá'hí, the ruins of which were still existing some fifteen years ago. After the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs it still continued to be a place of strength and importance; and, in the reign of Akbar Bádsnáh was the chief place of a *maháll* of that name in the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Multán *shúbah*. The site indicates that it was once a place of importance and strength; and it lies about five miles north-east of Sabzal Kot, and three miles from a station on the line of Railway, called Walh-har. The mound on which the town of Síw-rá'hí stood is about three quarters of a mile round about, and rises about thirty feet above the surrounding country; and it is said that some three hundred or more wells belonging to it, faced with masonry, but in a dilapidated condition, could still be seen in the *jangals* surrounding it. The remains of the fortress, which adjoins it, is about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and the walls rise to the height of about fifty feet. The bricks found here are of the same description as those found at Wanjh-rút, described farther on, together with fragments of stone carvings, beads, and other ornaments. Here likewise have been found numbers of pottery balls, similar to those discovered at Bahman-ábád, of considerable size, as large, in fact, as a man's head. These were the missiles discharged from the ancient war engines called *manjaníks*, balistas, or battering rams, such as were used by the 'Arabs under Muḥammad, son of Kásim, the conquerer of Sind.

I regret to find that this place, like Wanjh-rút, and many others I fear, has been invaded by Railway Vandals, who have been pulling down the walls of the place for "ballast," as they term it. It is a pity that there was no "Act for the preservation of Ancient Buildings" in "Young Egypt" as there is in Old Egypt, so that Railway excavators might not be allowed to demolish the most ancient buildings to put money in their own pockets. There is one thing, however, to be noted, and that is, that this line of Railway appears to have been carried, for part of the way, at least, through the depressions formerly the channels of the rivers herein described; and in case of a sudden or extraordinary change in the courses of the Indus or its tributaries, such as have taken place in bygone times, there is a chance that a good portion of it would be washed away. See note 554, page 479.



of the Sindís), only thirty-seven miles to the north-eastwards of these places, which was captured by Abú-l-Ḥasan, the general of Sultán Mau-dúd in 440 H. (1047-48 A.D.), appears to have been the strongest, and most important place in that immediate locality. If Bakhar had been in existence, the importance of its position must have been such as to render it impossible to pass it by without notice of any kind.<sup>567</sup> But these places—Bakhar and Rúrhí—are never mentioned, even up to 573 H. (1177-78 A.D.), when Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, sovereign of Ghaznih invaded Guzarát by way of U'chchh, nor even in 578 H. (1182-83 A.D.), when he marched into Lower Sind from Multán, and annexed Debal and the territory on the sea coast. If these places existed at the time, which I do not believe they did, they were of no account. In fact, Bakhar is not mentioned in history until the time of Malik Náşir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, 602-625 H. (1205-6-1227 A.D.), at which time it had grown into a strong fortress, but it was on a peninsula west of the river, and not an island, as I shall show. It may have been fortified by the Malik, Náşir-ud-Dín, Aetamur (Ai-Timur,) who held U'chchh and its dependencies, which included Sind, under the above named Sultán, and was the first feudatory of that territory after its subjugation by him. This Malik was killed at the time of the Sultán's defeat at Andkhúd in 601 H. (1204 A.D.), and Malik (afterwards Sultán) Náşir-ud-Dín Kabá-jah, was made feudatory in his stead.

The fortress of Bakhar and its town continued to be situated on a

It will be noticed that this ancient place, as well as Máthilah, Úbárah, Bhaṭí Wá-han, Ma'úh, Jachch Wá-han, Rám-kalí, Ghaus-púr, and several others, all lie between the great depression in which the waters forming the Nárah now flow, which, in ancient times, was the channel of the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Muḥammadan travellers, and the channel of the Hakrá of which they were tributaries. The whole of this tract contains, or did contain, numerous vestiges of the remains of ancient fortified towns; and every here and there the soil was strewed over with the fragments of kiln-burnt bricks and other pottery.

See the amusing piece of "history" contained in the "Gazetteer of Sind," respecting this part "1400 years ago," page 677.

Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí has been "identified" by Cunningham in his "Ancient India." He says (page 254): "The Sogdi or Sodraë, I would identify with the people of *Seorai*," the actual position of which, he says "is unknown!" See also note 361, page 366.

<sup>567</sup> If it did exist, the new channel flowing past it tended to make it a place of importance.

Burton ("Scinde" Vol. II, p. 250) says, "The channel [present] could not have existed in Alexander's day without attracting the attention of his historians. The Moslems connect the change, by tradition, with a time subsequent to their conquest of Scinde."

peninsula for some considerable time after this period, for some two centuries probably, but in the course of time, consequent on the increased volume which the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, now included in the Ab-i-Sind, had acquired, presently to be noticed, the force of the current washed away all the softer portions of the rocky strata on which the fortress stood, on the west side, by forming a second channel, leaving it an island, but larger than at present, and separated from the town.<sup>568</sup> The action of the current still continuing, in the course of years the other small islands near it were formed, one of

Eastwick (p. 29) referring to the same subject, says, nothing can be made of Arrian's account. Certainly not by attempting to trace the movements of Alexander according to the present courses of the rivers of these parts, but it may be different if the movements are traced according to the *ancient courses* of the rivers as I have here explained them. See also note 530, page 461.

<sup>568</sup> With reference to Rúhí more particularly, Captain G. E. Westmacott, of the 37th Bengal N. I. (in "the Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1841), who wrote on the spot, says, "Roree, or more correctly Lohuree [I have already given the derivation of the word and the vernacular form of writing it in note 121, page 209], the ancient Lohurkote [?], is a town of considerable antiquity, and is said to have been founded [this is of course local tradition, not history] with Bukur about the middle of the seventh century of the Hijerat." He is here quite wrong, and did not know that the fortress of Bakhar was invested and captured in 625 H., or twenty-five years before the middle of the seventh century of the H. He is just a century too late. He, however, gives some interesting particulars which tend to corroborate what I have mentioned respecting the action of the river. He says: "The strata of the rock is horizontal, and exhibits marks everywhere of the action of the river, which must have risen formerly at least fifty feet above its present level in season of floods, and washed the foundations of the houses. In the sandy bays, creeks, and hollows abandoned by the stream, date and peepul trees grow luxuriously, and rocks worn by the water, and shattered and broken into gigantic masses, were submerged at no very remote period. Along the base of the hills, on both banks of the river, the land bears the appearance of having been under water [when the Panj Ab poured through the gap]. The remains of a stone and brick wall, or quarry, built evidently, to oppose the encroachments of the river, runs along the edge of the precipitous ridge which supports the town, and under it is an extensive cavern." The buttresses are evidence that the river has worn away a great deal, or they would never have chosen to build dwellings in such a position.

Burton ("Scinde," Vol. II—250) also remarks, very pertinently: "In ancient days, when the Indus—say geographers—washed round the entire shoulder of the Sukkur Hills, it was, you may be sure, bleak and barren enough. Presently the stream shifted its course to the present channel, "cutting away the looser strata of the limestone ridge, and leaving the harder masses, one of which forms the island, and others the hills on the Sukkur side of the river. Bukkur, with the moat which nature thus threw round it, and the least assistance of the mason's art, in days when howitzers and mines were unknown, must have been a kind of Gibraltar. See previous note 567.



which, Khwájah Khizr's island, on which is the Khwájah ká Ṭhán, history distinctly shows was part of the main land on the Ruḥí side up to nearly two centuries and a half *after* the conquest of Sind by the Arabs.

What I have here stated is corroborated by a singular coincidence, which will enable us to arrive at the approximate period when the Áb-i-Sind, Panj Áb, or Panch Nad had already cut a channel between Ruḥí and Bakhar, thus separating them from each other. In the little island of Khwájah Khizr,<sup>569</sup> above-mentioned, there is a *masjid* whose

<sup>569</sup> Khizr or Elias, sometimes confused with the Prophet, Elias, and said to have been the Wazír of Kai-Ḳubád, the ruler of Í-rán Zamín, is stated to have discovered and to have drank of the fountain of the water of life, and consequently, will not die until the sound of the last trump at the judgment day. Khwájah Khizr, for this reason, is also called the *Zindah* or Living Pír; and it is out of this that the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," when referring to this island, makes out the shrine to be worshipped by the Hindús as a river god under the name of *Jinda Pír*. This is after the fashion of turning every *masjid*, or place of *sijdah* into a "*mazjid*." Khwájah Khizr is also accounted, in consequence, the patron saint of the waters or rivers, hence Muḥammadans of Hind are in the habit of offering him oblations of lamps and flowers, placed on little rafts, and launched upon rivers, particularly on Thursday evenings (the Friday evening of Musalmáns, as the night precedes the day) in the fifth solar month, August. It is at this time that the festival of the *berá* or raft is held, when a raft is launched upon the waters in honour of Khwájah Khizr.

The legend respecting the island of Khwájah Khizr or Khwájah ká Ṭhán is, that a shepherd named Bájí, whose hut was situated where one of the quarters of the town of Ruḥí now stands, observed one night a bright flame burning at some distance from him; and under the supposition that some travellers passing that way had kindled a fire, he despatched his wife thither to obtain a light. She went, but the light vanished as often as she attempted to approach it. She then returned and related what she had seen to her husband, but Bájí, thinking she was frightened, did not credit what she told him, and went himself to procure a light. He found, however, that what she had told him was true; and he concluded that it must be some miraculous manifestation. Filled with awe, he thereupon erected a *takiyah*, *ṭhán*, or devotee's station there, turned devotee, and gave himself up to the care of the spot. Shortly after, the river is said to have changed its course, and to have encircled the ground on which the *ṭhán* of the Khwájah stands.

This island lies a little north of Bakhar, but the channel separating it from the fortress is narrow and not difficult to cross.

With regard to the date, 341 H., which is undoubtedly correct respecting the shrine of Khwájah Khizr, it is certain that the branch of the Hakrá was diverted from near Aror sometime before this date; and, in all probability, the river had shifted from the westward of the present Sakhar more to the east, and had begun to cut its way between the present Ruḥí and Bakhar, before the island of Khwájah Khizr was detached from the main land. From all accounts I believe this branch was diverted, and this great change took place about the year 335 H. (946-947 A.D.).

appearance bears evidence of its antiquity, and in the *masjid* is an inscription, of which the following is a literal rendering :—

“ Know, that when this fabric was raised,  
Khizr's waters encompassed it round about,  
 This pleasing hemistich Khizr wrote :—  
 In the ‘ Court of God ’ the date is found.”

This, according to the *abjad* system, gives the date 341 H. (952-53 A.D.), which is just two hundred and forty-eight years after the conquest of Sind, and two years previous to the death (but some say it happened in that year) of 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Núḥ, seventh of the Sámání rulers, who was killed through falling from his horse whilst playing the game of Chaugán or Polo, when the sway of the Khiláfat over Sind was merely nominal, and part of it and Multán were in the possession of Karámitah rulers, subsequently expelled by Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghaznih.

Such a place as Sakhar is not mentioned in history down to the time of the Sayyid, Mír Ma'súm, styled Bahkarí, because he was a native of the Bahkar district, and one of the historians of Sind. He was an official under the Mughal government in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and, after twenty years' service, was allowed to retire to a *já-gír* conferred upon him in that same district in 999 H. (1590-91 A.D.). In relating events of the year 416 H. (1025-26 A.D.) he certainly mentions Bakhar, and shortly after Sakhar, but this certainly refers more to what afterwards became known by those names, in the same way as he refers to Thathah which was not founded for centuries after that period, and as he himself relates; and moreover, histories written before his time do not once refer to them. In proof of this, he does not seem either to refer to Sakhar as a new town, but to what had previously been known as Bakhar, as if, after the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, as the river is here styled down to modern times as well as Ab-i-Sind, had cut for itself another and second channel, and severed the fortress from the main land, the severed town had become Sakhar.<sup>570</sup> What the

<sup>570</sup> Another fact worthy of notice is, that the channel which separates Sakhar from Bakhar is not more than one quarter of the breadth of that separating Bakhar from Rúhí, where the river flowed from the first, when it found its way through the gap in the rocky hills. The breadth of the former channel is about 100 yards and the latter 400. Neither was the depth of water so great in the former as in the latter; and, lately, the former channel has been widened, in order to lessen the violence of the current in the larger channel.

Eastwick says, that just by the place where Clibborn's house stood, “ The river is exceedingly deep, and a whirlpool is formed by the opposition which the remains



meanings of the words may be I cannot say, but it is evident that there is some connection between Sakh-ar and Bakh-ar, or as occasionally written, Bhak-ar, but not correctly I think. Mír Ma'súm is stated in history to have died and been buried "at Bakhar;" and his tomb still remained in 1848 (and is still there probably, if not desecrated by Railway Vandals), at the foot of the lofty *manár* or tower of his own raising,<sup>571</sup> in the Sakhar Cantonment, in what is known as "old Sakhar," and near which is a great mound, said to mark the site of the *koṭ* of the former Rájahs of this part of Sind.

From this it is evident, that what was known as "old Sakhar," was really the remains of the town of Bakhar, separated from the fortress when the Panj Ab or Panch Nad, formed the second channel. We are told, as far back as the time of Sultán Náşir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, that when hard pressed on the investment of Bakhar by the Wazír of Sultán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, his rival, in 625 H. (1228 A.D.), Kabá-jah had to evacuate the city or town, and retired to the fortress.<sup>572</sup>

of an ancient building makes to the headlong waters. When the river is low this building can be distinctly seen, and is another proof, and one far more irrefutable than the inscription of Khwájah Khizr, that the stream migrated hither from Alúr."

In another place he says, that Sakhar "contains no trace of Hindú architecture or worship."

<sup>571</sup> Mír Ma'súm founded many buildings, both here and at Rúrhí, indeed, the founding of *masjids* and religious buildings, may be said to have been his hobby; and, moreover "he ornamented them with his own designs in stone; for, in making chronograms and cutting inscriptions, he had no equal, and also in the elegance of his letters. When he accompanied the embassy to Persia, at every prominent stage, all the way from Hind to Tabríz and Işfahán, he recorded the fact on the *masjids* and other buildings. The inscriptions over the gateway of the fort of Agrá are his work, and also those of the *Jámi' Masjid* of Fath-púr, and other places."

Respecting one notable inscription I shall have something to say hereafter.

Mír Ma'súm also set up two stones in the bed of the diverted channel of the Hakrá or Mihrán of Sind, near Aror, to mark the former course of the stream, with an inscription to that effect. He also left behind him many foundations for pious and charitable purposes.

Eastwick mentions a small domed building, which, in his time, formed part of the Agency at Sakhar, built by Mír Ma'súm, with the date 1008 H. thereon, and another, opposite it, with the date 1006 H.

<sup>572</sup> When Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh (the hero who crossed the Indus on his charger, fully armed, in the face of the whole Mughal host, in the rapid part of the river between Níl Ab and Kálá or Kará Bāgh), had escaped from the toils of the Mughals, he shortly after entered Kabá-jah's territory of Multán and Uchchh, which then comprised Sind as well, on his way into 'Irák by Lower Sind, Mukrán, and Kirmán. One of his Amírs made a night attack on the camp of Kabá-jah, who was hostile, which was pitched near Uchchh on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind, a *farsakh* (three miles) from that place, and overthrew him. Kabá-jah

If Bakhar had then been an island, and he had the control of the vessels on the river as stated, he might have defied all the efforts of the enemy as long as food lasted; while, if it had been at all like what it was when Mírzá Sháh Husain, son of Sháh Beg Khán, Arghún, re-built it anew, there was not standing room for an enemy's force, however small, at the foot of the walls, and from which position only a few men could attack it, at a time when artillery was not in use. The breadth of the fortress and the island of Khwájah Khizr together is but five hundred and two yards.

I may also add, that Sakhar is not noticed in the *Á'in-i-Akbarí*, although Bakhar, Rúrhi, and Aror are. The chief place of the *maḥáll* or sub-district of the Bakhar *sarkár* of the *ṣubáh* of Multán, to which it belonged, was Bakhar itself. It is also quite certain that when Humáyún Bádsháh, Akbar Bádsháh's father, invested the place for some two years, there were not so many islands existing as there are now.

effected his escape by getting on board a vessel, and made for his strongholds of Akar and Bakar, as Rashíd-ud-Dín, in the *Jámi'-ut-Tawárikh*, writes the names, which, he says, were *on two jazírahs*, which word means both peninsula and island, in the *Ab-i-Sind*. The *Jahán-Kushá'e* however, says, that Akar and Bakar were *two fortresses on one island or peninsula*.

It will not be amiss now to give some extracts from a few old travellers respecting Bakhar, Sakhar, and Rúrhi or Lúrhi, and also show a few of the wild theories entertained by some modern "authorities" on the subject.

Ibn Baṭúṭah is the first eastern traveller that we know of who visited Bakhar, the place not having been in existence in the time of the still older ones. He was in Sind in 734 H. (1333-34 A.D.), just a century and a quarter after the death of Ḳabá-jah, and sixty-seven years before Amír Tímúr invaded India. All he says is that "Bakar," as he writes it, is a handsome *city*, divided by *an arm* of the Sind river." From thence he went on to Uchchh and Multán.

In the time of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, about eight or ten years only after the death of Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, Mr. Joseph Salbanke, who made a journey from India through Persia and Turkey in 1609, in the fourth year of that monarch, says: "*Reuree* is a towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deal also in merchandize, as cotton cloth, indico, and other commodoties, and are a peacable people to deal withall.

"*Buckar* stands towards *Lahor*, where we received kind entertainment of the Governour. Sword blades are very good chaffer in this towne: my-selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my sword, the blade being worth a noble in *England*. Close by this citie of *Buckar* runneth the River *Damiadee* [See the old map, page 297, also that at page 321], which within eight days journey runneth into the Riuer of *Synde*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the countreys of *Guadel* and *Guzerat*. On the Riuer passe Barkes of fortie and fiftie Tunnes, by means whereof, there is traffique into diuerse parts of *India*." "*Sucker* is situated on an Iland [*sic.* he appears to have mistaken Sakhar for Bakhar and *vice versá*, as what follows clearly indicates] in the Riuer, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers,



Mír Ma'súm states, in his History, that when Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal conqueror of Sind, first went to inspect Bakhar, after

which serue the country round about. At *Sucker* we stayed [in the town: not in the fortress, certainly] four and twentie days for a safe conuoy to *Candahar*, and passed to *Candahar* in twenty days," etc., etc. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN" etc., note ¶, page 674.

Another traveller, Nicholas Whithington, "left in the Mogols country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612," in the "Tractate" written by the former, states, that "Goods may be conveyed from *Agra* on camels to *Buckor* in twenty days, which is on *Sinda* Riuer, thence in fifteen days aboard the ships."

If we can place implicit faith in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, we shall find, that Bakhar town joined the main land in his time. He says respecting the province [*sarkár*] of Bakhar, that, "the chief city, which is called *Buckar Suckar* [according to this the names were not used singly then] lies upon the River *Sindee* or *Indus* \* \* \* *Haagichan*, the kingdom [!] of the *Baloaches*, to the west of *Tata* and *Buckar*, confines west upon the kingdom of *Lar*, subject to *Shabas* [Sháh 'Abbás]. *Indus* windeth itself into the eastern side of it: it has no renowned City."

From these different statements it appears that Sakhar, or old Sakhar, really formed part of the *shahr*, *baladah*, or city, or town of Bakhar, when the latter joined the main land, as I have before demonstrated from the situation of Mír Ma'súm's tomb.

The "river *Damiadee*" of *Salbanke*, can only refer to the *Áb-i-Sind* or *Indus*, when it flowed in one of the old channels between *Dijí Koṭ* and the present channel referred to at page 458, and the *Sindy*," of course, is the *Hakrá*.

*Mandelsloe* says, that "*Bachar* or *Bukar*, lies on both sides of the River *Indus*." He was in these parts in 1639.

Now let us see what wild theories have been entertained respecting Bakhar, and its neighbourhood, centuries before it became an island, and even centuries before any river passed near it.

*Vincent*, from whom others copy, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," goes back to *Ptolemy*. He says, "The author (*Ptolemy*) means *Bekher* [as *Dr. Vincent* spells it] for the site of the tribe of *Sogdi* or *Sábracæ*," but *Vincent* himself says: "I take *Binágara* for *Bekher*. \* \* \* *Craterus* was detached into *Arachosia* and *Drangiana* from the island of the *Sogdi*, but he appears to have again rejoined the main body." Then again, referring to *Purchas*, he says, "*Bekher* is equivalent to the capital *Mansura* and the island. *Suckor* or *Sunkar* is a town on the island." I am sure *Purchas* never made such a statement that "*Mansura* was the capital, or that Bakhar was *Mansúriyah*. While the writer knows all about *Ptolemy*, he does not appear to have known who founded *Mansúriyah* or when, he seems to know nothing of *Bahman-ábád* or *Bahman-nih*, nor of *Alor* the ancient capital of Sind.

*Tod* (p. 334) says, "The island of Buk'har [in other places he styles it "*Rory Bekher*"—perhaps they were quite different places in his imagination] on the *Indus*, is a place celebrated in *Alexander's* voyage." He also supposes that "*Sangra*" is "a stream branching from the *Indus*," and that it branches off at *Dura*, seven miles north of "Buk'har;" and that it must be the *Sankra* [sic] of *Nader Sháh's* treaty with *Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh*. Such nonsense as the above may be allowed to

he had reduced Ṭhaṭhah, and all Upper Sind had been ceded to him, it was then an island. On his approaching it from Ḥándú ká, he was met by the governor he had sent thither previously, at the *kaṣbah* of Shakar (as it is written in two out of three copies of his work consulted, and *Sakar* in the third); and it was just after this, that the Sayyids of Bakhar voluntarily left it, and were assigned places of residence in the *kaṣbah* of Rúrhí.

When Sháh Beg Khán, subsequently, in consultation with his son, Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, resolved to repair and add to the fortifications of Bakhar, the old fort of Aror, and other buildings there, were demolished for the sake of the kiln burnt bricks to furnish materials for the purpose, together with numerous buildings, which, in former days, had been erected by the Turks and Sammahs. The fortifications then added to and repaired were still standing in 1007 H. (1598-99 A.D.).

Mír Ma'súm likewise states in his History, that Humáyún Bádsháh received the envoy of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, "at the *baladah* of Bakhar," which must have been on the main land even then, because the Bádsháh never set foot in the fortress. When we read in that History of the garrison making sallies on Humáyún Bádsháh's investing forces, and that all that he required was siege materials to effect its capture, the conviction will again present itself, that the fortress of Bakhar must have still been connected, in some way, with the main land, as a great number of vessels, which the Bádsháh did not possess, would have been required to carry on a siege, as well as to convey siege materials.

rest on its own merits, except to notice that the author of the "Gazetteer of Sind" tells us, that "Bakhar district must not be confused with the island of *Bukkur* [sic]," thus pretending that there is a distinction between the two names which does not, and never did, exist. The same writer also refers to a *singular* "sanad" granted to the Saiyads of *Bakhar* [sic] in A.D. 1711, by the Emperor Jehándar Shah, still in existence [what a long time has elapsed!] as showing *his connection* with the Government of Sind. How wonderful! It did not occur to the writer that the Mughal Empire of Dehlí included Sind, and was *de facto* included in it, until the disaffection of the Kalhorahs in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.). Had he studied the history—the true history—of these parts, he would have found that Sind continued to constitute a part of the Mughal Empire until ceded to Nádir Sháh by treaty in May, 1739. See also page 677 for one of the rich specimens of Gazetteer History contained in that work.

Postans ("Personal Observations") says, that Sakhar "is better known to the natives as Chipri bunder;" and Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 521), following Postans, says: "Sakar or Sakhar, is better known to the natives as "Chipri bandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial." Of the derivation of "Chipri" I am unaware.



But I am anticipating, and must return to the discussion of the state of the rivers at other epochs.

The western branch of the Hakrá was thus diverted from the vicinity of Aror more to the westward, and that branch only; for we know from the personal knowledge of a contemporary historian, the author of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí*, that in 624 H. (1227 A.D.), Wanjh-rúṭ on the Hakrá was a flourishing place, and the chief town of a district, extending eastwards to the Bikánír border. When the author reached *Uchchh* from *Khurásán* in the above year, having come down to that place from *Ghaznih* by way of *Banián* in the *Koh-i-Júd* or Salt Range, by boat on the *Bihat*, he was made *Ḳází* of the forces under *Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín*, *Ḳabá-jah's* son, 'Alá-ud-Dín, *Muḥammad-i-Bahrám Sháh*, and Principal of the *Firúzí* College at *Uchchh*. At this period the camp was pitched before the gate of the *kaṣbah* of *Ahráwat* (اهراوت-Uhar-oṭ, possibly); and the whole of *Ḳabá-jah's* fleet, and boats, on which the baggage and followers of his army were embarked, were moored in front. Soon after, the author went over to the winning side—to the enemy's camp—as soon as the *Dilhí* forces appeared; and the first of the great feudatories to whom he presented himself was *Malik Táj-ud-Dín*, *Sanjar-i-Gajzlak Khán*, a personage, he says, “of sufficiently formidable aspect, and his form of magnitude,” who then held the district of *Wanjh-rúṭ* of *Multán*; and after *Uchchh* and *Bakhar* fell, he was placed in charge of the territories dependent on them, which included the greater part of upper *Sind*. The district of *Wanjh-rúṭ* depended on the *Hakrá*; and that river continued to flow past the town, and through the district dependent on it, after the western branch was diverted from *Aror*, and to flow much as it had previously done towards *Manṣúriyah*. This state of things continued up to, and for some seventy or eighty years after the investment of *Uchchh* by the *Mughals* in 643 H. (1245 A.D.).

*Wanjh-rúṭ*, improperly called “*Bijnoot*” and “*Vijnôt*” by those who did not know the correct name of this place, was still in existence a few years since. It stood, in ancient times, before the *Hakrá* or *Wahindah* ceased to flow, on the east side of that branch of the great river which passed *Aror* on the east, and was afterwards diverted, as already related, about twenty miles lower down. Its situation was in the *do-ábak* or delta between that branch and the main channel, about forty miles below the junction of the rivers, forming the *Mihrán* of *Sind*, at *Dosh-i-Ab*, on the south-west, and is now rather less than eight miles east, inclining slightly south-east, from the present *Khair-púr Dehr* ke. The changes in the river caused it to go to decay centuries since, although *Síw-ráhi* or *Síw-rá'í*, which was, probably, a mere

ancient place, was still the chief place of a *maḥáll* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad division of the *sarkár* of Multán in the time of Akbar Bádsháh.

At the period I refer to, a few years since, the site of Wanjh-rút comprehended a collection of mounds of a blackish colour, ranging from twelve to twenty feet in height, consisting of the remains of pottery, fragments of charcoal, and great bricks, such as have been found at Bahman-ábád and in ruined sites higher up, along the banks of the rivers, and at Bahrám ke on the Ghárah, and in the ancient towns of Hindústán. These bricks range in size from fifteen to eighteen inches long, from nine to twelve broad, and from five to six thick. The site extends for about half a mile in length and half that in breadth, and is about a mile and a half in circumference. The base thereof has been silted up to some four or five feet in height by alluvial deposits, caused by the changes in the old channel of the river, and the action of water during the lapse of centuries. There are also a number of mounds beyond the site, marking where suburbs probably stood. In the centre of the place there are the remains of a Hindú temple of some kind, built chiefly of sand-stone, the nearest point from which such is now obtainable is Jasal-mír. Only a few fragments of stone carvings remain which can tend to the identification of the style and date of the building. Some very small silver and copper coins have also been found, but the figures thereon were too defaced to make anything of them, and also beads, and fragments of other ornaments. The natives for years have been carrying away the stones and bricks for building purposes; but now, I am told, the Railway Vandals have appeared, and have been demolishing the site as fast as possible, and other ancient remains, for “ballast” for a Railway! See note 41, page 169, note 464, page 429, and “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” etc., page 669.

The next or third transition was caused by the great flood, which overwhelmed the whole of the northern parts of the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, as already described at page 392, which occurred between the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, and the invasion of Hind by Amír Tímúr, that is, between 643 H. and 801 H., about the years 720 to 725 H. (1320 to 1324 A.D.). It was at this period that the Bihat or Jihlam and Chin-áb, having altered their courses considerably, united a short distance—a few miles—below Shor or Shor Kot, whereby that place became placed in the fork between the two rivers, and in the Chin-hath Do-ábah. That fort is, doubtless, that which Amír Tímúr refers to in his account of the passage of the united rivers below the junction, and the surging and uproar caused by the meeting of the waters, (see page 279); for the Tájzik word *shor*, signi-



fyng ‘disturbance,’ ‘tumult,’ ‘uproar,’ and the like, was probably the origin of the subsequently named, Shor or Shor Kot.

By this change in their courses, the two united rivers above-named moved some fourteen or fifteen miles farther westwards than before, and abandoned the Ráwí altogether; and instead of passing Multán on the east side, and which had been previously in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, they passed it on the west side, and thus placed it in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but Uchchh was thereby placed in the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah.<sup>573</sup> The united Bihat and Chin-áb now united with the Bíáh — with which the Ráwí still united<sup>574</sup> on the east side of Multán, but much lower down than before — a little to the north of Jalál-púr in the south-west corner of the Multán district as now constituted, about forty miles below that city, and some thirty miles above Uchchh. The united Ráwí and Bíáh had consequently to run between twenty-five and thirty miles to the south-westwards to unite with the Chin-áb and Wihat; and, soon after, a little lower down, these four united with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus thus forming a new Panch Nad or Panj Ab near Uchchh on the west, and deserting the Hakrá for good.

It was at this period, I believe, if it had not previously done so, that the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind threw off a branch farther westwards, between Rúján and Kashmúr,<sup>575</sup> which flowed in the channel which

<sup>573</sup> When Abú-l-Faẓl wrote the A’in-i-Akbarí, Uchchh, through other changes, had been thrust out of the Do-ábahs entirely, and became Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab, or outside the do-ábahs embraced between these rivers; and Uchchh was still thus situated when the A’in-i-Akbarí was completed; while Multán, through a change in the Ráwí, was then in the Bári Do-ábah as at present.

<sup>574</sup> Before this, the Ráwí had united with the Chin-áb before the junction with the Bíáh, and nearer to Multán on the east, which part is still known as ṭaraf-i-Ráwí.

<sup>575</sup> Ibn Baṭūṭah makes some remarkable observations in confirmation of this. Respecting the Ab-i-Sind, he says, that he came down the river, and on the 1st of Muḥarram, 734 H. (11th September, 1333 A.D.), reached the junction forming the Panj Ab. Then he says, that “here commences the territory of the Sultán of Hind and Sind; and from thence it is necessary, that a description in writing should be sent of persons arriving on the frontier, to the Amír of the province of Sind stationed at Multán.” From the junction he proceeded to Jaṭú-í [in the original Mss. consulted written جنای or جتای for جتوی], in which are located a people called al-Sámirah [Sumrah?] who have been dwelling in that part from the period of the conquest of Sind in the time of Amír Ḥajjáj. From thence he went to Sív-istán, and makes no mention of Bakhar in going thither, but, coming from Sind on his way to Multán, he came to Bakhar, which he says is “a handsome city (or town) divided by an arm of the Ab-i-Sind. Where was the other arm or arms, or main channel? and how did he reach Sív-istán without passing Bakhar, as he appears to have done? I conceive that he went down by the channel flowing farther west; but, if not, he certainly refers to another arm or channel of the Ab-i-Sind,

passed more directly westwards towards Sháh-púr and U'chchh, in the part known at present as Kachchhí, and west and south of Khán Garh (now Jacob-ábád), and from thence towards Khairo Garhí and Shadád-púr, receiving between these two places the waters of the streams from the hills on the north, north-west, and west, which hitherto had made their way towards the Manchhar lake, and the Lakhhí range of mountains. Then issuing from the lake, and bending more towards the south-south-east towards Naṣr-púr, and near that place deserting its former channel running in the direction of Badín—one of those intervening between the Puránah Dhorah or Old Channel and the present channel of the Indus—the stream turned to the southwards to unite with the sea not far beyond Shakar-púr, where the remains of an ancient town still exist.<sup>576</sup> Other, but minor channels, running southwards or branching off from the main channel, there must have been then as now, and these I need scarcely refer to here, save to one larger than the others which passed east of the town of Jarak, and from thence towards Sámúí-Nagar, before Thaṭhah was founded, about 740 H. (1339-40 A.D.).<sup>577</sup>

Thus did the river called the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, which, when the old 'Arab geographers and chroniclers wrote, consisted of the Wihat, Chin-áb, Ráwí, and Bíáh, desert the Hakrá or Wabindah altogether, but the Sutlaj—which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel, and has been incorrectly called “the Western Nyewal”—and the Ghag-

and that certainly flowed in the Sind Hollow, or some distance west of Bakhar. From the latter place he went on to Multán by U'chchh, which, he says, was on the Ab-i-Sind.

<sup>576</sup> The ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist in this neighbourhood. There is a mound at a place called “Kekeyja,” in one map, and “Kekeyja” in another, thirty miles south-east of Jarak. Another ruined site is at “Katbaman” of the maps, twenty-four miles east-south-east of Jarak; a third at “Shah Toorail,” nine miles north-north-east of Badín, and rather less than two miles from the recent west bank of the Gúní branch of the Indus; and a fourth collection of ruins at “Nindimanee,” five miles east of Muḥabbat Dero. These I believe to have been in the southernmost parts of the Bet or delta mentioned in the operations of the Arab leader Muḥammad, son of Kásim. See note 187, page 234, and note 538, page 468.

Close to where the Fulailí and Gúní branches of the Indus used to unite, the ruins of large buildings and fragments of broken bricks and pottery covered the ground for miles.

<sup>577</sup> Mír Ma'şúm says, in his History, that when Sháh Beg Khán attacked Thaṭhah the first time on the 11th Muḥarram, 926 H. (2nd January, 1520 A.D.), he came from the northward by the Lakhhí Hills, and took up his position on the banks of the Khán Wá-hah, three *kuroh* (about five miles and a quarter) north of the city; and, that in those days, it was the main branch of the river, but there was water to the south likewise, in another channel.



ghar and its tributaries, along with the Chitang, continued to unite with the Hakrá as before.

The movement to the westward of Multán of the Wihat and Chináb appears to have affected the Níl Áb, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus likewise, and their junction with it tended to its inclining farther westwards to near 'Alí-púr and Sit-púr downwards, forming a new channel for itself, but a considerable distance above the point where it had before united with the Hakrá, thus deserting altogether its former channel by Ghaus-púr in which it flowed to unite with the Hakrá at Dosh-i-Ab; while, lower down than that point, this new Panch Nad or Panj Áb, entered and appropriated the channel of the western or Rá-in or Rá-iní branch of the Hakrá, a little above Bakhar, and then nearly dry in consequence of this desertion of the main stream above the point of separation of the Hakrá branch, and passed on towards Rúhí and Bakhar.

In the meantime, between this great transition (brought about mostly, if not entirely, by the great flood in the northern part of the Panj Áb territory) and the preceding one, the delta between the sea-port of Debal, and the principal mouth of the Great Mihrán or Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, below Badín, had been gradually increasing from the deposits washed down; and, at the same time, the territory of Kachchh or Kachchh Bhuj, as its name, signifying 'new,' 'crude,' 'newly-formed,' 'alluvial,' etc., which hitherto consisted of several rocky heights lying along the sea-coast with a *ran* or vast marshy tract on the other side, was being gradually increased by these deposits from the Hakrá and what had been brought down by the Loní river and its affluents.

The river Sutlaj which for a long period of time—since the last great change or transition—had flowed in the channel by Uboh-har (the "Western Nyewal" of the maps) still continued to be a tributary of the Hakrá, but, affected by the same causes that had led it previously to alter its course westwards from its older channels, caused it now to take a course still more to the westwards on leaving the hills near Rúhpar, and then to bend to the south-west again, and to form a new channel for itself about midway between the Uboh-har channel and that of the present Hariári, Níli, or Ghára, which, instead of uniting with the Hakrá near Márút as before, flowed in this new channel some sixteen miles or more to the westwards of that place, and with a tortuous course, to a point or position near which the present town of Baháwal-púr stands, and which is said to occupy the site of an ancient city. Passing east of it, it bent towards the south-west again; and some twenty-two miles south-south-east of Ghaus-púr, and between Khán-púr and Khair Garh; about thirty-five miles below Diláwar or Diráwar,

united with the Hakrá, instead of higher up stream as it had formerly done.<sup>578</sup>

Having lost such a large volume of water through the desertion of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, the Hakrá had, with some difficulty, continued up to this period to be a perennial stream, and on this account, when it (including its tributary the Sutlaj)<sup>579</sup> reached near to Kandhára or Kandháro and Wanjh-rút, near where the Hakrá, as long as the Panch Nad continued to unite with it at Dosh-i-Ab, sent off the branch towards Aror (which had subsequently been diverted towards the lime-stone range, which at first it passed on the north and west), it now, likewise, separated into two channels, the western-most or minor of the two, entered the channel of the Rá'in or Rá'ini or old diverted channel, and struggled on towards Aror.<sup>580</sup> During seasons of inundation, the overflow waters from the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, as far north as Ghaus-púr above which the ancient junction used to be,

<sup>578</sup> This is the period referred to in the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí*, which says, that "That part of Sind which is now flourishing [when written in 1621 A.D.] was a mere waste at the period of the rule of the Sumrah's, between 700 H. (1300 A.D.) and 843 H. (1439 A.D.), owing to the decrease of the Ab-i-Sind, namely the Panj Ab [including the Ab-i-Sind], which from Bakhar [as it is therein spelt] downwards, is called the Bahmín [the old Panch Nad as before described]. No water flowed towards those then waste parts. \* \* \* The chief town of the Sumrahs was Muhammad Túr." The writer refers here to the period when the Sammah tribe was in a flourishing condition; and it must not be supposed that by the Panj Ab or the Sind that the Ab-i-Sind or Indus is referred to, because he immediately adds respecting it, the diversion of the stream passing Aror on the east, and relates the tradition already narrated at page 484, namely, "Below the city of Aror [the city was built chiefly on the skirt of the rocky hills, but its suburbs probably extended some distance farther east] the river of the Panj Ab flowed, which was likewise called by the names of Hakrá, Wáhindah, and Wá-han, and other names, for it changes almost at every village it passes. After fertilizing the country the river unites with the ocean."

The dates given by the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* above, are totally wrong even by its own statements, otherwise, when did the Sammahs come into power? The Sumrahs acquired power in Lár, Debal, or Lower Sind about 261 H. (874-75 A.D.), and in 738 H. (1337-38 A.D.) they fell, and the Sammahs rose. Their power lasted, independently from 752 H. (1351 A.D.) to 927 H. (1520 A.D.), when the rule of the Sammahs was subverted by the Arghún Mughals. See the latter part of note 315, page 317.

<sup>579</sup> The Hakrá having lost its last chief tributary in losing the Sutlaj—for the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries, could not alone, except in time of floods, reach much beyond the points where in former periods the other rivers used to add their waters to it—it from that time, may be said to have ceased to flow.

<sup>580</sup> This seems to be what Salbanke refers to as the river Damiadee, or very much like it. Since he visited Bakhar, no doubt many changes, that we know not of, may have taken place. See note 572, page 493.



found their way into the old channel, which still remains in the form of a great depression;<sup>581</sup> and this overflow, uniting with such water as continued to run in the old diverted channel east of Aror, subsequently united with the main channel of the Hakrá near Sayyidah. This second or minor branch is what appears in our maps as the “River Nara,” and “Western Narra,” locally called Nárah—Snake or Snake-like—from its tortuous course.

Such was the general state of the rivers from near the period of Amír Tímúr’s invasion of Hindústán, until about the period of Bábar Bádsháh’s invasion of the country of the Panj Áb in 925 H. (1519 A.D.).

The fifth great change or transition occurred when the Sutlaj, the

<sup>581</sup> By this depression the “Khoonun Leht” of the Collector of Shikár-púr referred to in note 563, page 482, finds its way into the old channel. In his “Report on the Indus,” Wood says, respecting that portion of its course between Miṭhan Koṭ and Bakhar—Ghaṣ-púr, mentioned above, lies nearly due east from the first-named place—that, “neither on the east or west banks of this division is there an outer bank, and the consequence is, that the country here is largely inundated. In the Mizarry districts [he refers to the tracts west of Miṭhan Koṭ, inhabited by the Mazári Balúchís], the floods of 1837 fell twenty miles back from the river [this overflow was towards the old channel I have before alluded to between Rúján and Kashmúr]; but, in ordinary seasons, twelve is the more usual measure of the width. On the opposite bank [the Ghaṣ-púr side], the inundation about Subzakote reaches to the edge of the desert [that is to the channel of the Hakrá.]

A little above Miṭhan Koṭ, he says, that “in the month of May, the breadth of the Indus was 608 yards, while the Chenab or Panjab was 1776 yards, and almost twice as deep—all canals cut from the Sind [Indus], and surplus waters pour into the Chenab.”

If we draw a line from Multán westwards towards the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then from those places down to Ghaṣ-púr, 107 miles south of the former and 86 of the latter, and near which is said to be the site of an ancient city, which I believe to have been Basmíd, we shall find what a great depression exists in the part where the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind or Panch Nad had formerly flowed. Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basírah 409, and the Derah of Ghází Khán 440 feet; while Baháwal-púr is 375 feet, ’Alí-púr 337, and Ghaṣ-púr but 295. In this depression the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, flowed when they were tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah, and the country all along the east side of the present course of the Indus as far down as Bakhar and Aror, with the exception of around Kashmúr on the opposite side, where another depression turns westwards towards the Sind Hollow—indeed it constitutes a portion of it—is higher than on the west side, but slopes towards Bakhar; but, on the other hand, there is another depression westwards, which begins about forty-two miles north-north-west of Bakhar, which runs away towards Shikár-púr which it passes on the north and west, runs down towards Mehar, and meets the depression from the direction of Shadád-púr and Khairo Garhí where the “Sind-Hollow” depression turns southwards. See note 575, page 499.

most erratic of all the rivers in this part, instead of flowing in a south-westerly direction on leaving the hills near Rúh-paṛ by Cham-kaur, and running by Faríd Kot, Maktí-sar, and Bágh-sar, towards Baháwal-púr to unite with the Hakrá, as it had previously done, turned sharply towards the west on issuing from the hills, then turned more towards the north-west, near Lúdhíánah, towards Fil-úr, and united temporarily with the river Bíáh at Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, when the united streams lost their respective names and became known as the Harfarí, Núrní, or Nílí. This united stream after flowing for about twenty-one miles, again began to separate between Kaşúr and Debál-púr, and, soon after, separated into three, instead of into two streams, as they had previously been. The Bíáh, it must be remembered, continued to flow in its own independent channel, which it had never left within the range of history, except to change, as it probably did, from one side to the other and back again in the space constituting its bed, which hereabouts is from eighteen to twenty miles broad; and on this fresh separation it still continued to flow in it as before under its own name. The middle branch of the three, above referred to, was of minor importance with respect to the other two, and was then known as the Dandah,<sup>532</sup> which ran almost parallel to the Bíáh, by Mailsí and Lodh-ran towards Jalál-púr. The third turned more to the south on separating, passed Ajúddhan, or the Pák Pattan, or Holy Town, ten or twelve miles on the east and south, and regained its name of Sutlaj. These three branches having flowed apart for just one hundred *kuroh*, or one hundred and seventy-five miles,<sup>533</sup> again converged towards each other, the Sutlaj passing near Baháwal-púr on the north, re-united with the middle branch or Dandah, and then with the Bíáh once more, about five miles to the westward of Jalál-púr above-mentioned, and formed the Ghallú Ghárah or Ghárah,<sup>534</sup> all three branches thus losing their old names for this new one.

Thus the Dandah and Sutlaj having re-united with the Bíáh and become the Ghárah, with a considerable volume of water, pushed farther westwards from the place of junction, and met the united Bihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí. They thus formed a fresh Panch Nad or Panj

<sup>532</sup> The meaning assigned to Dandah by the people of this part has been previously mentioned.

<sup>533</sup> The middle branch did not flow apart quite so far, as it united with the Sutlaj *before* it again united with the Bíáh, as already stated.

<sup>534</sup> Some persons have supposed that Ghárah means 'mud,' 'silt,' etc., but such is not the case, this word is written گھارہ and گھارا, while gára گارا means 'mud,' 'earth mixed as mortar,' or 'earth prepared for potters.' See also note 73, page 183.



Ab,<sup>585</sup> without the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus being included as it had hitherto been; and such was the general state of these rivers as known to Abú-l-Fazl when he wrote the *A'in-i-Akbari*, but this formation of the Ghárah had taken place nearly a century before he finished his work; for when Mírzá Sháh Husain, the son of Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, overcame the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1525 A.D.), he made the Ghárah the boundary between their respective territories.

By this fresh movement in the courses of the rivers, Uchchh was removed from the Bíst Jalhandar Do-ábah into the tract known as Berún-i-Panch Nad, that is, outside the Five Rivers. The united streams flowing in one channel under the name of Panch Nad or Panj Ab for about eighteen or twenty miles, or much more, allowing for the windings, and subject to minor changes more or less every year, united with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus a little below Síṭ-púr and Uchchh; and by this junction the Panch Nad then extended almost as far above Uchchh as the Panch Nad of the present day extends in the opposite direction below that place.<sup>586</sup>

Such was the general state of the rivers, as here described, up to about ten years before the close of the last century, or just one hundred years since.

The fifth, and so far, last great transition, up to the present time,<sup>587</sup> began towards the close of the last century, when the Bíáh, at last, deserted its ancient channel for the first time since it is heard of in history; and this was occasioned, apparently, through the Sutlaj again altering its course still farther westwards. On issuing from the hills of the Siwálikh, instead of passing close to Lúdhíánah, it left it between seven and eight miles on the north by Fi-lúr and 'Alí Wál (the scene of General Sir Harry Smith's brilliant victory over the Sikhs), and from thence keeping to the northwards of west, united with the Bíáh at Harí ke Paṭan, or Harí's Ford, some fifteen or sixteen miles farther west than before. On this the Bíáh deserted its channel, and instead of inclining westwards—as all the other rivers had more or less done, but the Sutlaj to the greatest extent—it took a *totally contrary direction to the east*, deserting the channel it had flowed in for

<sup>585</sup> This was the first occasion that any of the waters of the Sutlaj formed part of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, except, when as a tributary of the Hakrá, it united with that river lower down near Khán-púr and Khair Garh, and it had never reached so far west before, "within the range of history."

<sup>586</sup> See page 302.

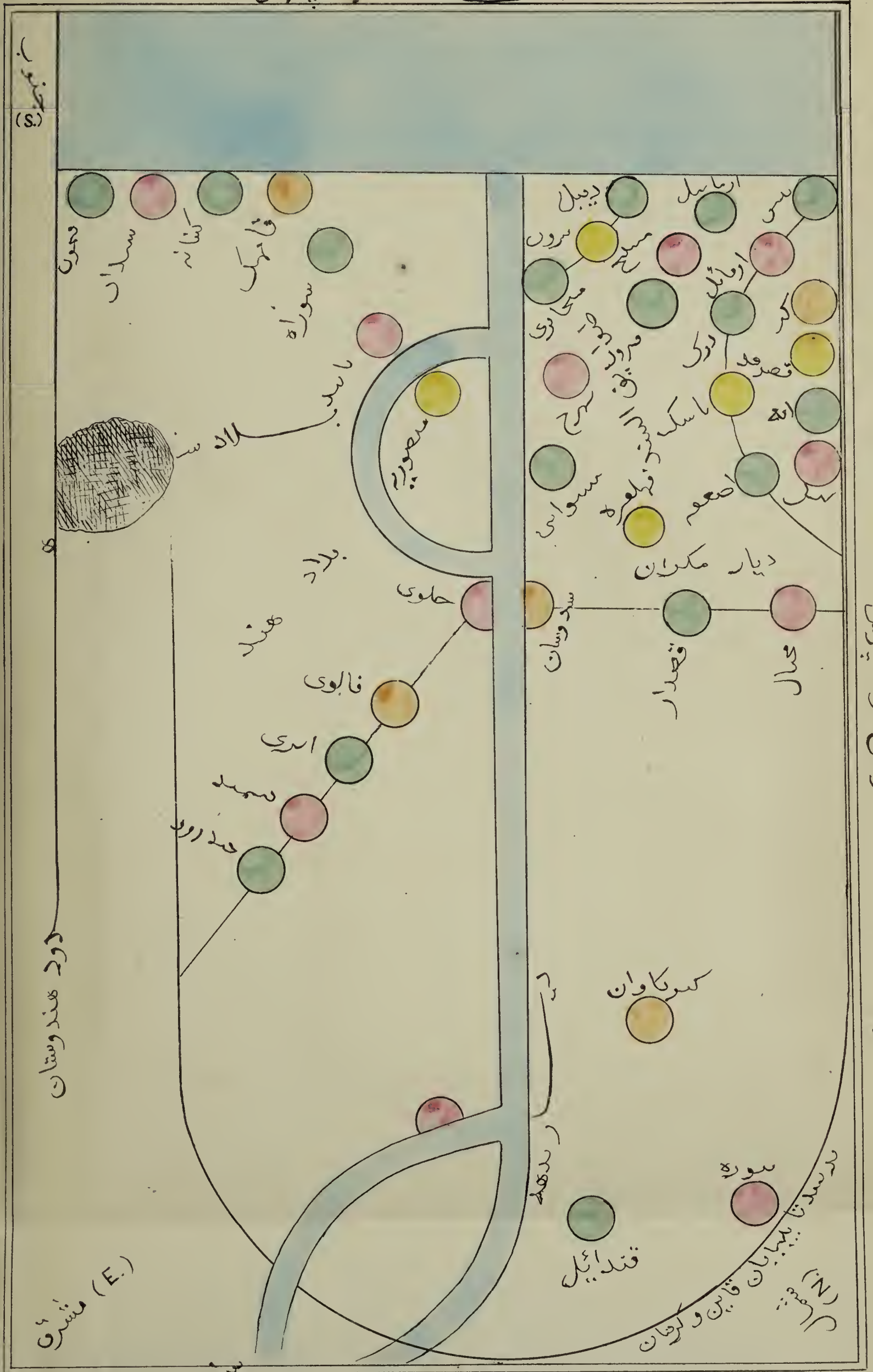
<sup>587</sup> The earthquake of 1819 appears to have caused considerable change near the sea coast, but whether its effects were felt more towards the north it is impossible to say, as there are no particulars available.

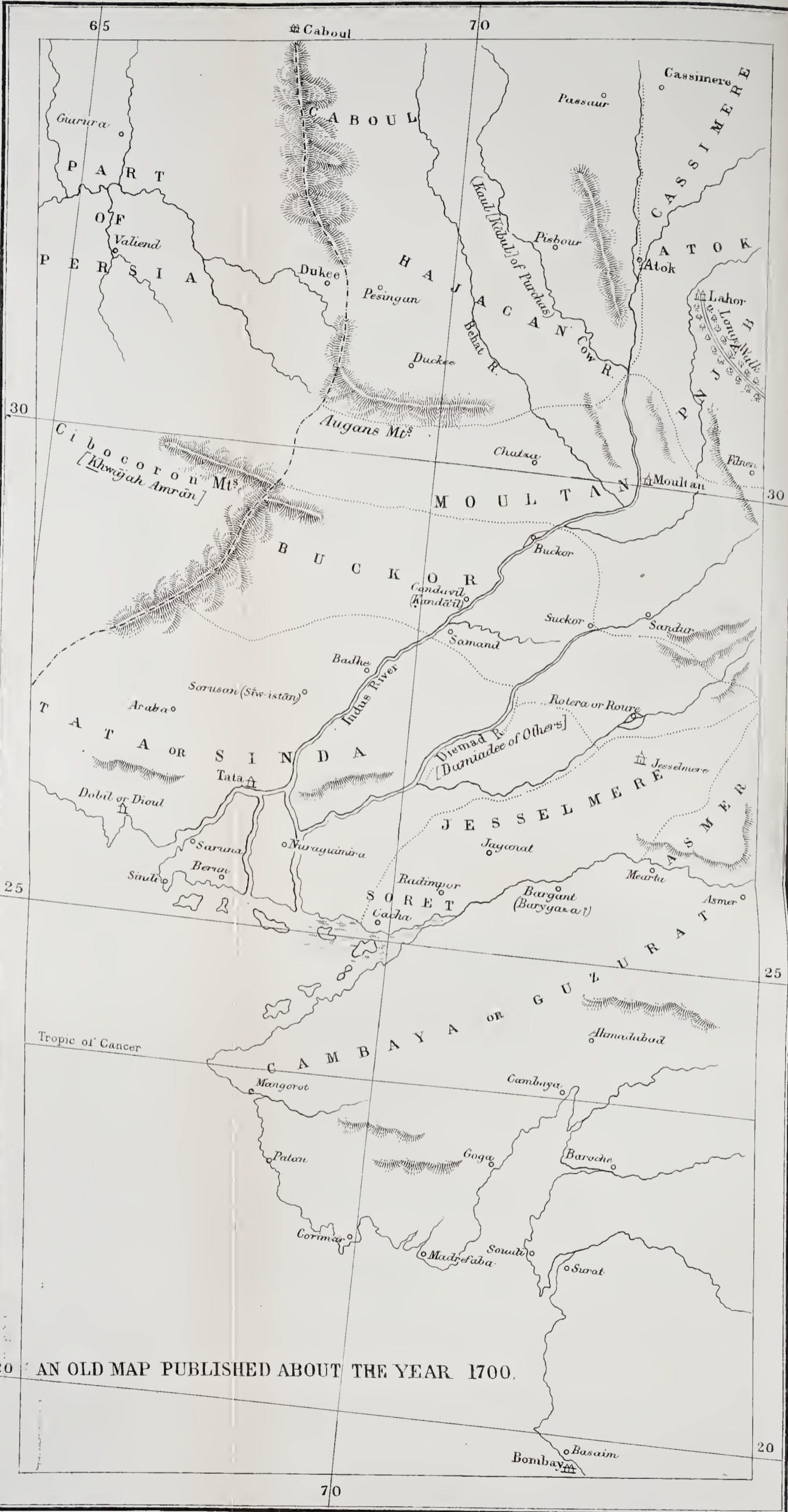
tributaries the waters of all the rivers from the Chitang to the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, through the loss of most of its tributaries, and the failure of others, ceased to flow—although even now, in time of great floods above, its waters have occasionally reached the ocean—the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, now become a mighty river by the accession of five of those tributaries, flowed towards the south-westwards, changing at times and forming new channels to be again abandoned, ever changing more or less. It may be said without exaggeration, that there is little of the vast, sloping, alluvial tract of Sind, below the parallel of Uchchh, and extending from Birsil-púr of Jasal-mír to Shadád-púr of Upper Sind, a space of four geographical degrees in breadth, that the Hakrá or Wahindah and the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, have not, at different epochs, within about the last fifteen hundred years, flowed over; for the whole extent is literally seamed with their channels of lesser or greater age, in all and in every direction.<sup>590</sup>

<sup>590</sup> It seems that the new Railway—the Southern Panjab Railway—will run for great part of its way, close and parallel to the old channels of the Ghag-ghar and the Hakrá, and will stand a great chance of being flooded. We may also be sure, if steps have not been taken to prevent it, that all old sites will be destroyed for “ballast.” A sharp eye should also be kept on the finding of antiquities and hidden treasure in such places.



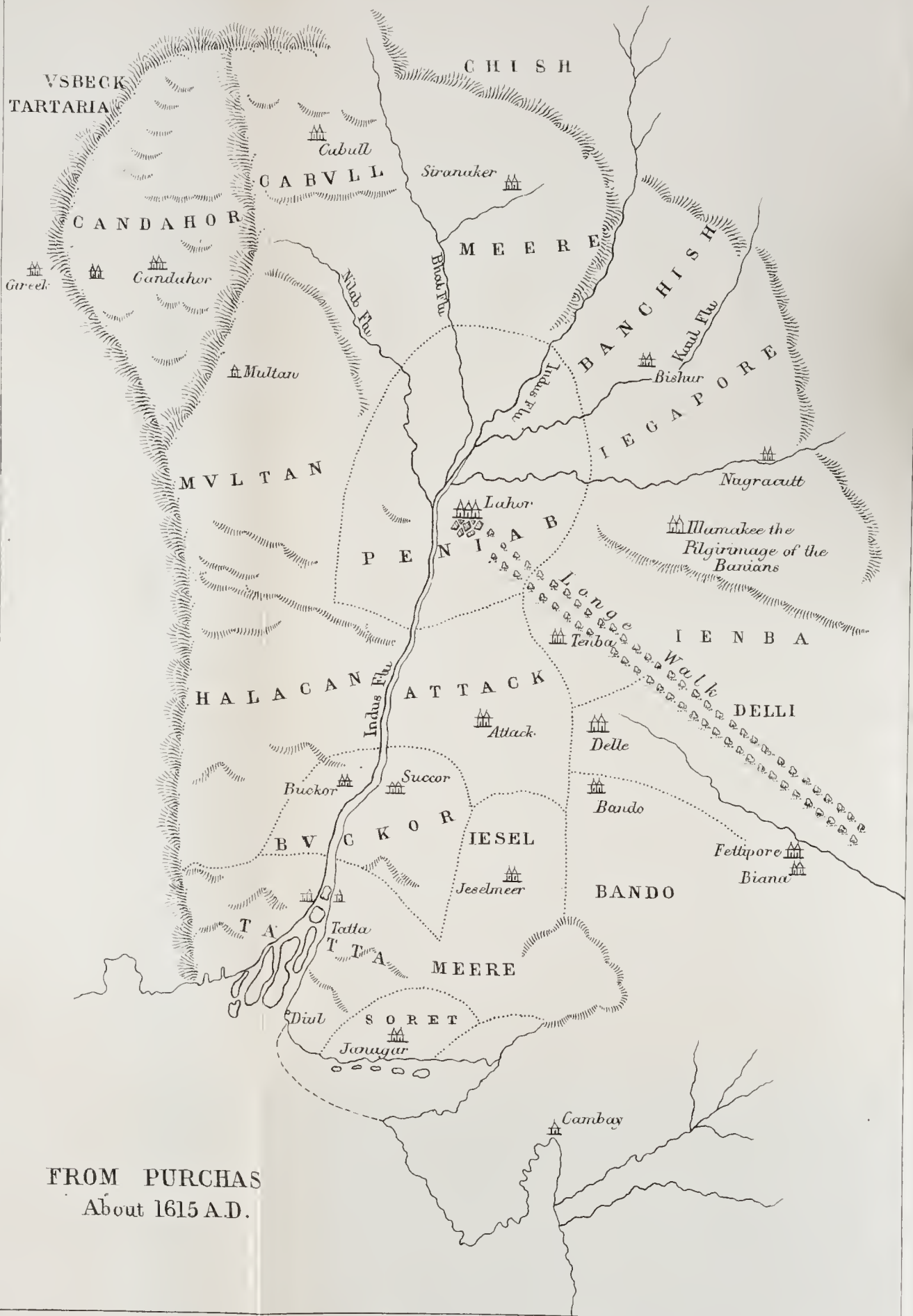
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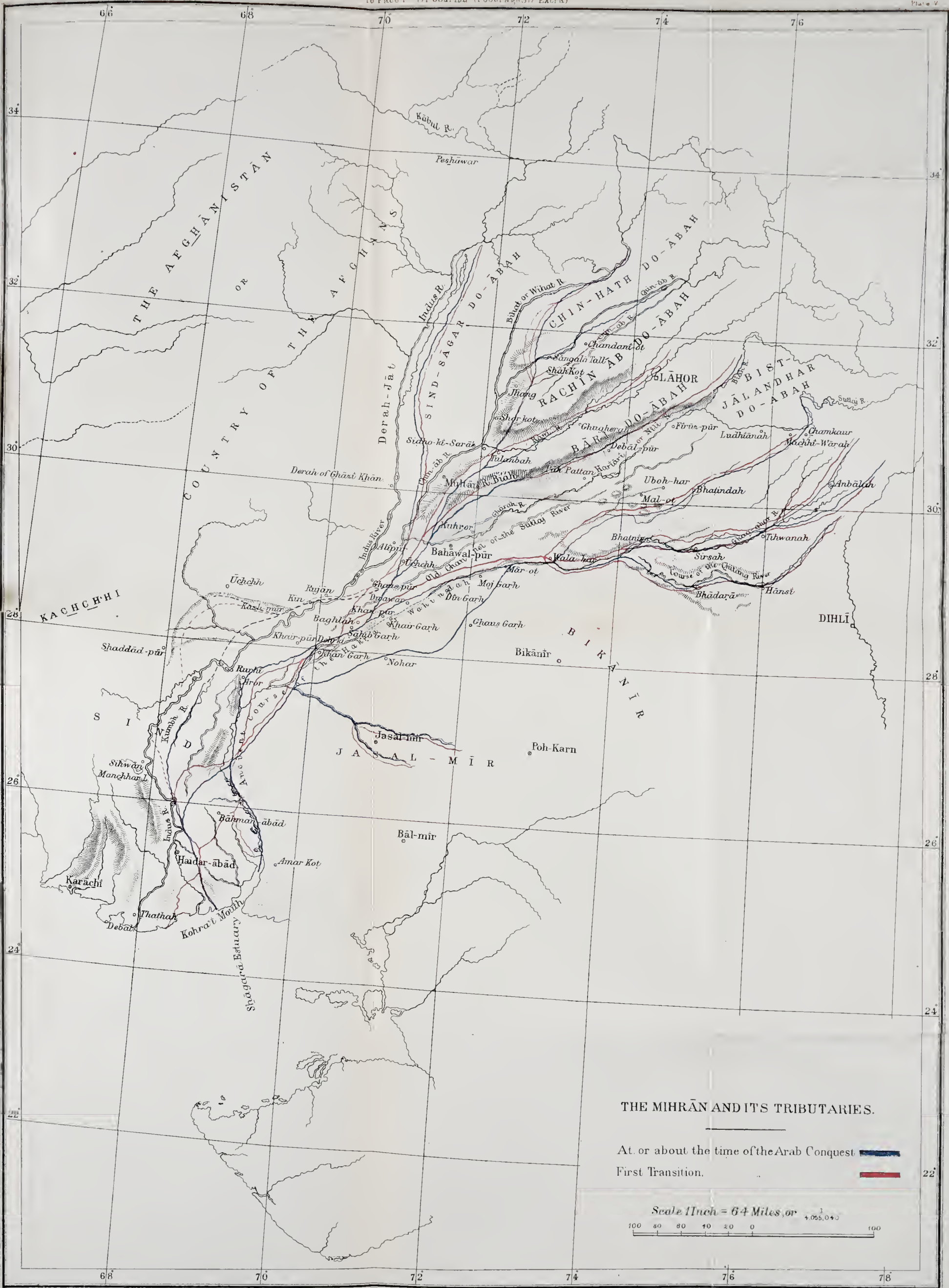


AN OLD MAP PUBLISHED ABOUT THE YEAR 1700.





FROM PURCHAS  
About 1615 A.D.

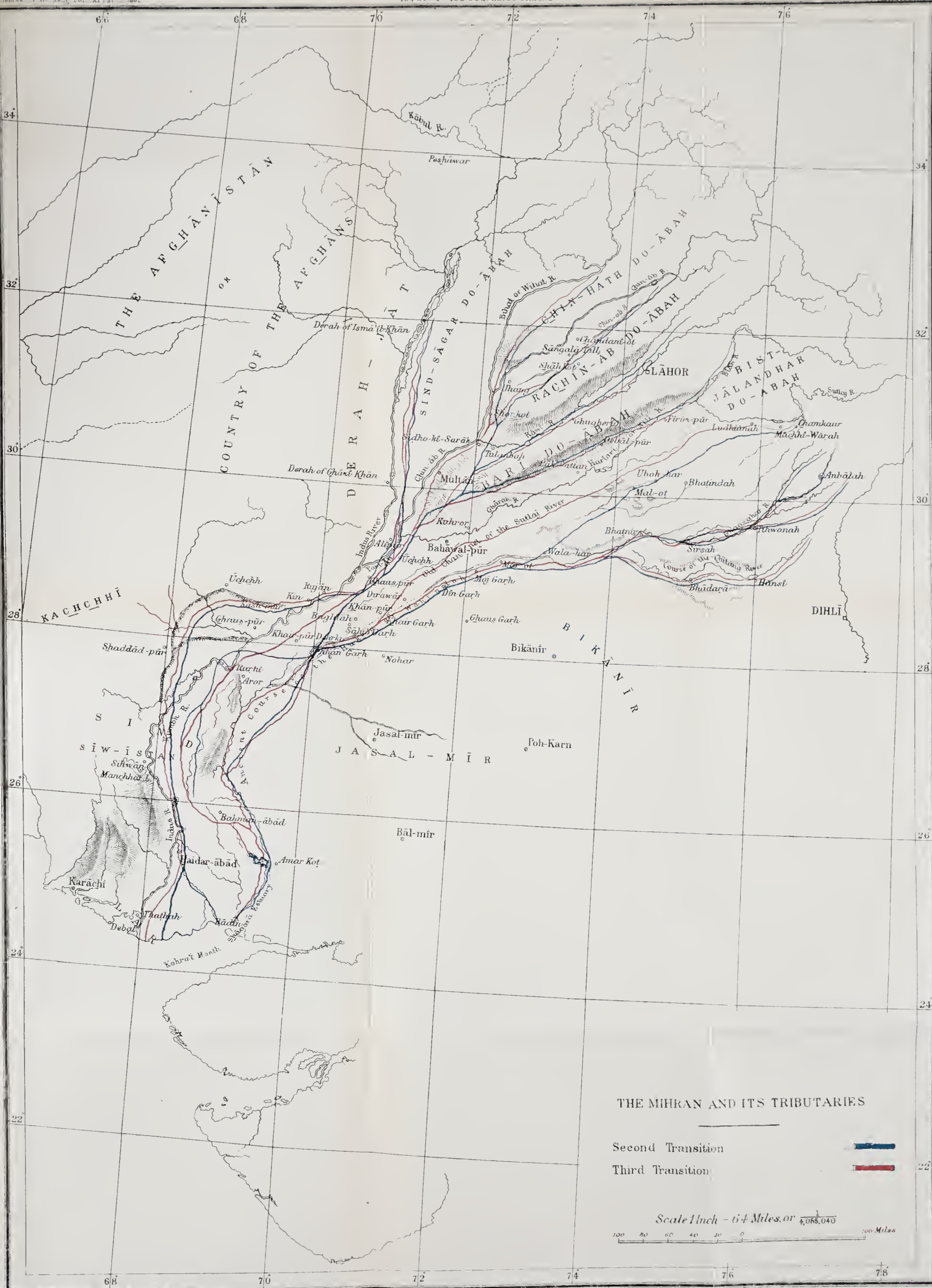


THE MIHRAN AND ITS TRIBUTARIES.

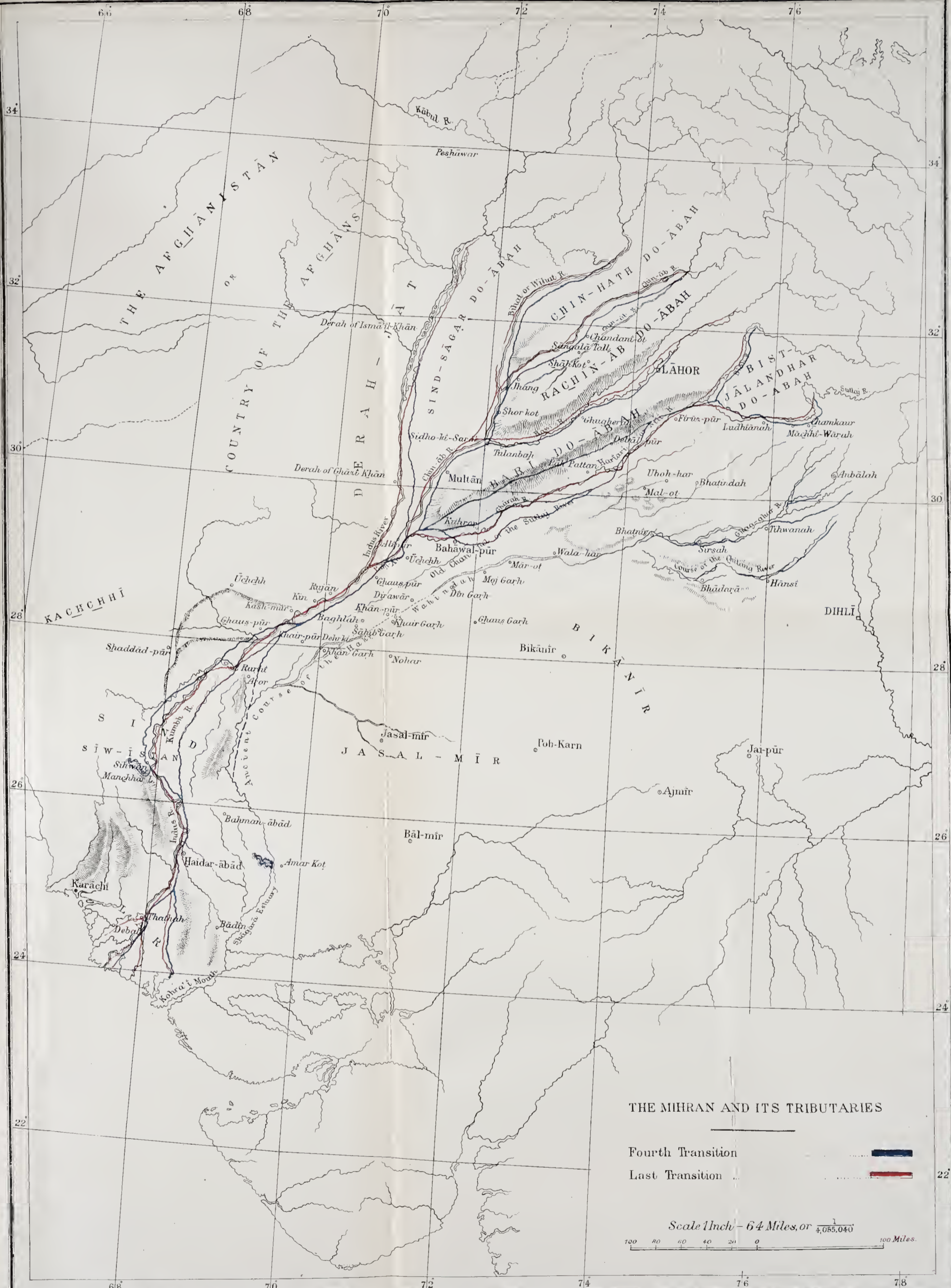
At or about the time of the Arab Conquest —  
First Transition. —

Scale 1 Inch = 64 Miles, or  $\frac{1}{4,055,040}$   
100 80 60 40 20 0 100





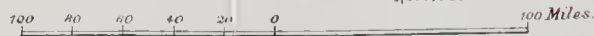




THE MIHRAN AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

Fourth Transition   
 Last Transition

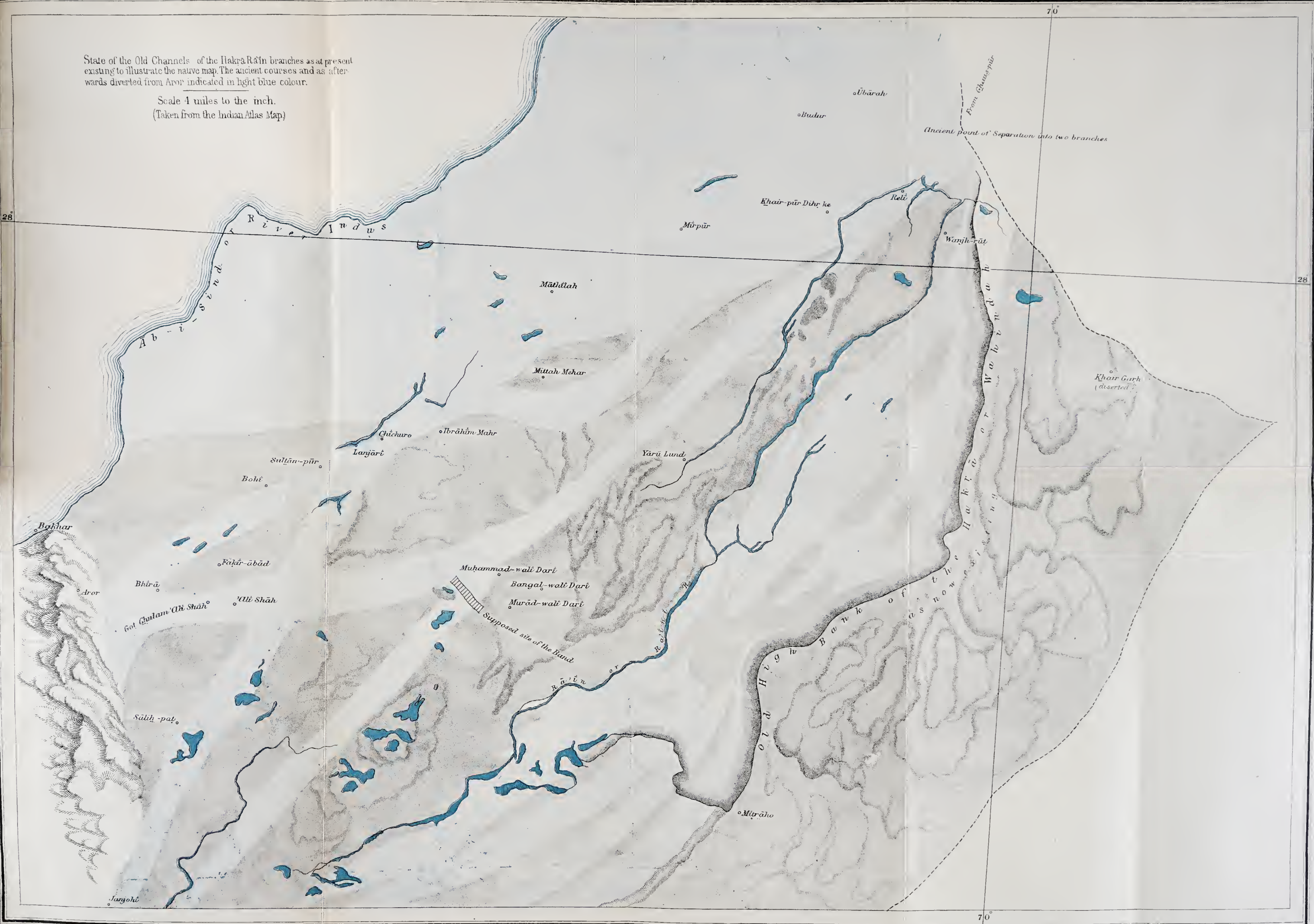
Scale 1 inch = 64 Miles, or 4,055,040 Feet



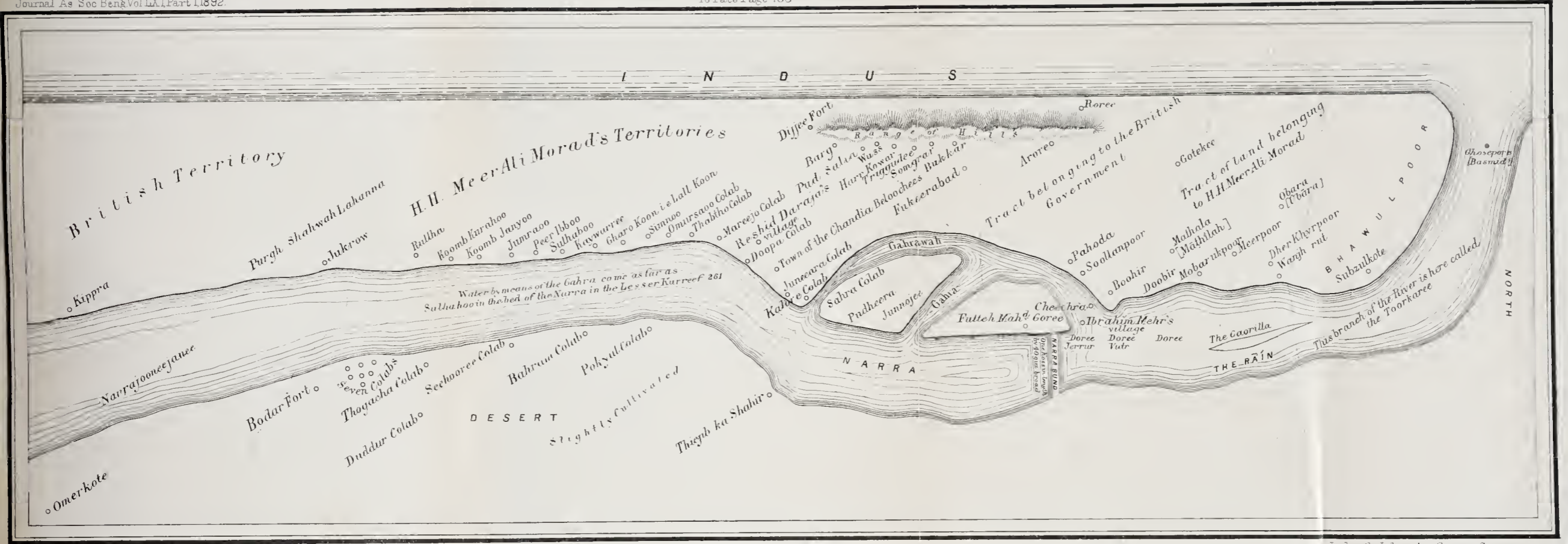


State of the Old Channels of the Hakra Rāin branches as at present existing to illustrate the native map. The ancient courses and as afterwards diverted from Aror indicated in light blue colour.

Scale 4 miles to the inch.  
(Taken from the Indian Atlas Map)

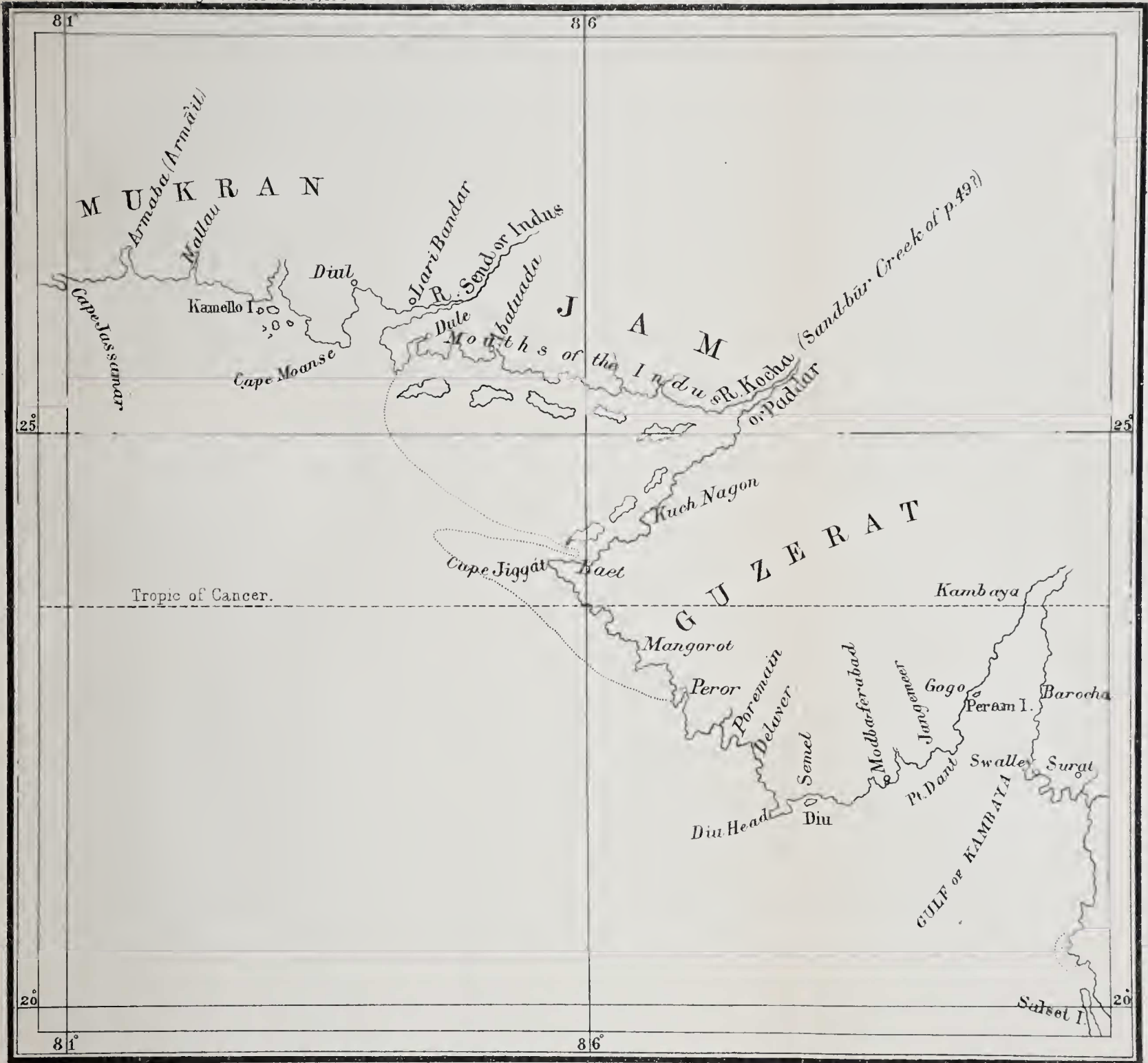






Native Map, referred to on Page 483.





H. G. Raverty Del

*This map taken from one about one hundred and fifty years old shows the state of the delta near the mouths of the Hakra and Ab-i-Sind or Indus at that period*

Litho: I. A. Cottage, Calcutta.